CAMOENS:

LIFE AND LUSIADS

RICHARD F. BURTON

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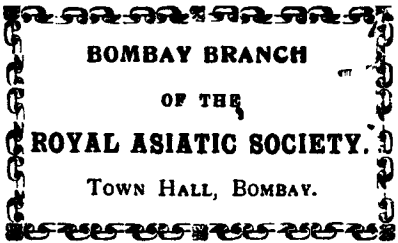

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CAMOENS:

HIS LIFE AND HIS LUSIADS.

A COMMENTARY

46867

BY

RICHARD F. BURTON

(TRANSLATOR OF THE LUSIADS).

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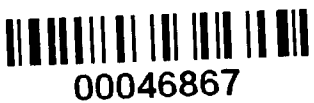

CHAPTER IV.

(GEOGRAPHICAL.)

§ 1. Preliminary: Cosmography of Camoens: Nautical Instruments.

WHILE the historical Cantos of The Lusiads have been copiously annotated, Commentators have [illegible]nctorily treated the geographical,—*opus impeditum [illegible] cundiæ minimè capax.* Yet, as Hakluyt says, topography and chronology are the "Sunne and Moone, the right eye and the left of all historie." The admirers of Camoens could not fail to remark the poetic genius which presents the *orbis situm* with so much and such beautiful picture; and the bardic art with which his description of the various regions, the complement of annals, is made to reflect honour upon the Father-la[illegible] Even the dry waste of cosmical and astronomical science (x. 77–9 and x. 120–141) is overgrown with flowers and fruits. The few stanzas (iii. 6–20) in which Da G[illegible] describes Europe before entering upon the na[illegible]tory, are models of compression; and, to mention no[illegible]re, the course of the Armada (Cantos i. and ii.) proves that the Poet, who devotes some 130 stanzas to the voyage, had thoroughly mastered his subject.

Before entering into the Geography of Camoens, I

would offer a few observations upon his Cosmography, which is that of Lucretius, Virgil and Lucan, Dante and Ariosto, Spenser and all the host of præ-Copernicans. The "geocentric theory," depending upon the imperfect evidence of man's eye, was the earliest speculation, at one time adopted by all races, from the Egyptians and the Chaldæans to the Tahitans and Polynesian, the Peruvian and the Mexican peoples. "Earth in the middle centre pight" is flat, and four-cornered or circular, domed by a solid sky wherein the luminaries are fast fixed. The sun, which the Hebrews created [illegible] earth,[1] moves round it; and can therefore be "stopt." This greater light, like the others, in fact like all creation, served for the use of man, whose ignorance flattered his feebleness and vanity by representing his speck of matter as the Core of Cosmos. Cosmas (Indicopleustes) holds earth an oblong of 6,000 by 12,000 miles. The "Heathens," bound to no such Hebrew belief, approached much nearer truth. Nigidius, the Roman philosopher, was called "Figulus," because, on return from Greece (B.C. 60), he taught that the globe whirls round like a potter's wheel. The diurnal periaxis was known to Hicetas of Syracuse (Cicero, Acad. Quæst., ii. 39), to Philolaus the Pythagorean (fifth century), to Heraclides Ponticus (third century B.C.), and to Diogenes Laertius: the heliocentric system was recognised by Pythagoras, Aristotle and Nicolaus of Cusa. Neither,

[1] Genesis i. 10 13; and 14–19. The four corners of the Earth are mentioned by the Prophets (passim) and Enoch (xviii. 2).

however, was generally accepted by the Greeks. The natural theory died hard; and, despite Bacon who refuted it, and the many Pontifical decrees against the motion of the earth, Nicolaus Copernicus of Frauenberg (1543), Galileo (1615) and Newton finally demolished it.[1]

And as with Earth, so with the "Heavens." Some hypothesis was necessary to explain the independent movements of the sun and moon, the planets and stars; and hence the doctrine of sphere-layers, concentric and eccentric. The Chaldæans owned seven great heavenly bodies revolving in seven orbits: these were, doubtless, borrowed from the Egyptian hierophants, who had proposed seven circles, the number of their planets, each being "domified" in its solid Crystalline. Luna, in the first or terrene heaven, a copy of earth, revolves round the latter: Sol occupies the second stage with Mercury and Venus for satellites, and the other "firmaments" belong to Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. The Sabæans numbered ten, the highest being the "sphere of spheres"; and the same is still the case among the Maoris of New Zealand.[2] Pythagoras, who

[1] There are still men who believe in the flat earth of Hebrew or rather Egyptian cosmography; but the nineteenth century looks upon them as eccentrics. For the "Pontifical Decrees," see 2d edit., Longmans, 1870. Copernicus (Koppernik), when Camoens was still young, printed at Nurnberg, his great work, De Revolutionibus orbium cœlestium, libri sex, 1543. For Nicolaus de Cusa see Humboldt's "Cosmos" (Bohn), ii. 692.

[2] The lowest of the Maori heavens is separated from earth by

followed the Egyptians, assumed seven transparent spheres which carried with them the "heavenly bodies"; and through these strata he saw the darker circle in which stood the fixed stars. His system was adopted by Plato and Aristotle; and was preserved with some modifications by Ptolemy.[1]

The eleventh, highest or external sphere, is the Empyrean, the throne or sensorium of the Deity. Beneath lies the "first mouer or primum mobile, who in euery twenty-four hours doth perform his circular motion from east to west, carrying with him all other inferior bodies whatsoever."[2] Below it again, the crystalline heaven of the fixed stars revolves,[3] according to the Arabs, in 49,000 years, their *annus magnus:* moderns, calculating by the precession of the Equinoxes (12″ per ann. east).

diaphanous solid, ice or crystal; and along its inner side glide the sun and the moon. Above are the reservoirs of rain and wind; the abodes of spirits of light and similar substances; and, lastly, Rehua the Blessed. Thus are explained the stepped pyramids of the "Otaheitans" (Cook, Pinkerton, xi. 514), which reflect the planetary temple-stages of the Chaldæans and Mexicans. In poetical and popular parlance, Puck is "swifter than the moon's sphere"; and we still talk of the "music of the spheres" and of being "in the seventh (highest) heaven."

[1] The sequence is best explained by a diagram: for a good specimen see "John Davis, the Navigator," ably edited for the Hakluyt Society (1880) by Captain A. H. Markham, R.N.

[2] "Seaman's Secrets," Davis (loc. cit.), p. 293.

[3] Sir J. Herschel finds that luminiferous ether, which acts as a solid rather than a fluid, "will go far to realise the ancient idea of a crystalline orb."

reduce the term to 20,980. Under the firmament or zodiacal heaven (No. 8) are the stars, each in his several circle; the opposing motions produced that sweet accord and "harmony of heaven," unheard by the gross ears of mortal men.

In Camoens the Empyrean ("of pure fire," x. 81) is the Throne of God, the seat of the Angels and the Home of the Blest. He speaks of the sevenfold skies (i. 21), alluding to the planets, but he expressly admits (x. 84) eleven spheres fitting into one another,

> —As in a nest
> Of boxes.
>
> (FANSHAW, x. 81, 1–2.)

The Ptolemeian system did good work: it proved itself, in poetic hands from Lucretius (lib. v.) to Tasso, as far superior for poetry as its modern successor is for prose.

The schema was adopted from Ptolemy by the Christian Fathers, by the Poets and by the Arab philosophers, who garnished it with marvellous details. In mediæval and Moslem astronomy the succession is :—

Empyrean,	the sphere of	The Deity.

In Arabic:—Arsh el-Rahmán ("throne of the Merciful").[1]

Primum mobile	Seraphim, Angelic hierarchies.
Fixed Stars	Cherubim.
Saturn[3]	Thrones, contemplators: Jannat 'Adn (Eden) of Pearls.
Jupiter	Dominions, Kings: Firdaus,[4] of Red Gold.
Mars	Virtues, Crusaders: J. el-Naím (delights); white silver.
Sun	Powers, Theologians: El-Khuld (eternity) of green coral.
Venus	Principalities, lovers: J. el-Ma'wá (rest); of chrysolite.
Mercury	Archangels, men of fame: J. el-Salám (peace), of ruby.
Moon	Angels, Monks, etc.: J. el-Jelál (glory); of white pearls.

To understand the *Erdkunde* of Camoens, we must study it from the map of Ptolemy with due regard to

[1] Above it are the seven seas of light, the crystal sphere of Anaximenes, "thick inlaid with patines of bright gold" (Spenser).

[2] Bacon with Dionysius the Areopagite makes the seraphim, or angels of love, precede the cherubim (angels of light), and these take higher rank than their congeners of office and domination ("Inst. Magna," lib. i.).

[3] A more material use is now found for this planet: observers note that its cycle of twenty-nine and a half years has influenced the bad seasons of 1816, 1845 and 1879.

[4] The Sansk. Paradéshas and the Zend Paradáeso (afterwards Gangdiz); whence the Greek Paradeisos (a garden); and the Arab. Firdaus. The Elysian Fields (Alizuth = El-lizzat, joy) or regions of the vulgar Blest were near the moon: higher spirits affected "Æther," the source of pure fire.

the changes, some for the better, others for the worse, introduced by the Moslem and the early European, especially the Portuguese, explorers who travelled with the Periplus and the Pelusian in hand.[1] Our Poet probably accepted the first meridian in the Fortunate Islands:[2] he certainly adopted the nine Climates and the five Zones of Parmenides (nat. B.C. 513): moderns propose to substitute for them three primaries and six secondaries determined by the course of the isobars. But the devanced Aristotle, and his learned disciple Averrhoes (Abd el-Rázi) of Cordova, when he practically ascertained that the tropical zone must no longer be styled *non habitabilis æstu*.[3] His voyage to the

[1] English is almost the only European tongue which has not translated the immortal "Geographia": our geographers declare that the book is mathematical, our mathematicians that it is geographical; and thus the public must take it either in Greek or in foreign tongues. Yet we have an "R. G. S." which dates, as the "African Association," from 1788; and which assumed its present shape in 1830.

[2] There is great uncertainty about which island; Ferro, perhaps the favourite, held its ground with us till the reign of Elizabeth. An utter confusion now prevails throughout the civilised world, where every nation must have its own first meridian. Surely geographers could agree upon a general departure; for instance, St. Michael, Azores, where the compass has no variation.

[3] I have explained (Journ. R. G. Soc., 1860, pp. 21–24) how the true deserts of temperate Africa, northern and southern, were made to meet in the centre by mappers who rejected the analogy of the Americas. But vulgar error is long-lived. Newspapers still conserve the picturesque phrase, "Desert as Central Africa," when most men know that it is one of the most luxuriant of tropical regions.

Austral world of Crates[1] had shown him that S. Augustine ("De Civ. Dei"), who knew little of earth, whatever he might have known of heaven, was wrong in rejecting, with a habitable Equator, the Antipodes of older and more learned men.[2]

The mathematical science of Prince Henry the Navigator and D. Joam II. had introduced, or rather had restored practical geography by the improvement of instruments alluded to in The Lusiads (v. 35). The restless spirit of the times made mechanical study the rage, and led to the artistic triumphs of the seventeenth century.

"Tabulæ" were known to the classics before the days of Herodotus, who speaks of them as if they were common. An Egyptian plan of the gold mines is preserved at Turin.[3] Maps are noticed by Propertius (Elog., iv. 3, 35); and Pliny (xii. 8) alludes to the Forma Æthiopiæ, brought back by Nero's exploring captains. Rome, it is well known, had copper plates engraved with

[1] Of Pergamus (who founded his school opposed to the Alexandrian in B.C. 160).

[2] The antipodes are dubious in the "Pharsalia," viii. 160.

[3] The tombs of Egypt and the ruins of Assyria show topographical ground-plans and elevations which are in fact rude maps. The latter were (they say) introduced into Greece by Anaximander (B.C. 600–530), and were improved by Hecatæus. Aristagoras (Herod. v. 79), carried to Sparta a "bronze tablet, whereupon the whole circuit of the earth was engraved with all its seas and rivers." Says the disciple of Socrates in "The Clouds," "See, here is a plan of the whole earth."

topographies of her various cities; and the charts which illustrated Ptolemy are famous. The Arabs followed suit; Ben Musa compiled his chart in A.D. 833 and Háji Mahommed of Tunis (1559), whose work is in the "Marciana" of Venice, disposed the habitable earth in heart-shape. Karl the Great, according to Eginhardt, dined at a silver table which was also a map. We can trace the gradual improvement in the middle ages through the Portulan (collection of marine charts) by Paolo Visconti of Genoa (1318), now the oldest of its kind, preserved in the Palazzo Correr of Venice. Follow the cartographers, Marino Sanudo[1] (1320), Andrea Bianchi (1346) and Frate Mauro[2] (1457). Martinus Hylacomilus (Waldseemüller, 1509), published the Geographiæ Introductio (1 vol. 4to, Joh. Gruniger, apud Argentoratos,—Strasburg), naming America after Vespucci; and, in 1522, he produced his great map of Africa. Covilham, according to Bruce, sent a Moorish map from Abyssinia. The notable improvements of Regiomontanus[3] date from 1475–1506, and were followed by those

[1] This and other mappers with their works will be further noticed in § 2.

[2] A Camaldolese monk of St. Michael in Murano, who compiled his geographical Cyclopædia for D. Manoel (Barros, *i.* 2, 188). It remained in Murano till the suppression of the convent in 1811, when it was removed to the library of St. Mark. Visconde de Santarem first published it in facsimile, and good photographs of it are always procurable at Venice.

[3] John Müller, of Königsburg, Franconia, nat. 1436; studied Greek in Italy (1461–64); succeeded Georg Purbach (nat. 1423),

of Jerome Verrazano (1530) and Nonius (1337). Very complicated affairs were the early European maps:—

> With centric and concentric scribbled o'er,
> Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb.

Easterns (Correa, 1, 138) added to their lines and circles, rhumbs and bearings, a net-work of meridians and parallels which were frequently drawn close together.

The globe, known since the days of Thales, was another important revival. The terræ globa of Martin Behaim (1492),[1] still shown at Nürnberg, measured 1 ft. 8 in. in diameter: it had an iron meridian and a brass horizon. The next specimen of repute is Schöner's (1515) first showing "America": those of Mercator (Louvain, 1541), and G. Roll (Augsburg, 1588), become

the professor of Astronomy at Vienna, whose translation of Ptolemy's "Almagest" he completed; and died at Rome Archbishop of Ratisbon (1475). He left amongst other works a solution of plane and spherical triangles, with a table of sines (*De Triangulis, planis et sphæricis*); and he computed the Calendarium Novum for 1475–1560, the astronomical ephemerides used by Columbus and Da Gama.

[1] Martinus Bohemus, a pupil of Regiomontanus, though claimed as a compatriot by the Portuguese, was born (1436) to a merchant in Nürnberg, then so famous for the manufacture of arts and arms, now of toys. See 1479 he went from Antwerp to Portugal as cosmographer and map-constructor. In 1484–85 he crossed the equator with Diogo Cam, when the Congo kingdom was discovered; he married at Fayal; and, in 1493, while voyaging to Lisbon, he was captured and carried to England. He died at Lisbon in 1506 (Hakluyt's "Pigafetta," pp. 292, 392–415).

famous. Hence D. Manoel placed on his scutcheon the armillary sphere, which has been preserved in the arms of the Brazilian Empire.

The Ancients laid down their latitudes by gnomons [1] and used poloi (dials) to determine the length of the tropical day. Their longitudes were fixed by lunar eclipses and by "dead-reckoning,"—the latter made valuable only by that queen of instruments the magnetic compass. Apparently unknown to the Classics, it may be traced back to China in early ages; and its terminology still shows [2] that it came westward with the Arabs or Saracens. As *la marinière* or *la grenouille*,[3] a magnet floating upon a straw, it was used by Christendom long before "Marcus Paulus" of Venice "invented the Mariner's Compass" (1260); or Flavio Gioja swung it on gimbals (1300). Roger Bacon describes the

[1] The gnomon was held by Herodotus to come from Babylonia. Hebrew legend makes Moses first set it up for a measure of time; but the Egyptians had long before attributed it to the god Shu. It was certainly known to the Jews in the days of Hezekiah (seventh century B.C., Isaiah xxxviii. 8; and 2 Kings xx. 9) as we see by the use of the word Malroth, gradus, steps, degrees). The Greeks attributed it to Anaximander, who lived a hundred years afterwards: and various dials to much later inventors, Eudoxus and others. According to Laplace, the dial was used by the Chinese in B.C. 1100.

[2] E.g. Alhidada (El-haddádah, the divider), a string or wire separating the face into two equal parts.

[3] I noticed this primitive contrivance ("Ultima Thule," i. 312) as being used by mariners in the twelfth century. Its origin may date much earlier.

loadstone (*i.e.* leading stone) as well as gunpowder. Maundevile (1322) alludes to the "shipman's stone that draws the needle to it," as if it were well known. Prince Henry's friends have claimed for him the honour of first applying to navigation the Mariner's Compass, as well as latitude and longitude; but Princes are sometimes praised for what subjects do. Others make Columbus (1492), whom Oviedo declares the inventor of the astrolabe, the originator of its naval use and the discoverer of magnetic variation: he only popularised the latter. The Roteiro (p. 28) in 1498 tells us that the people of Mozambique had *agulhas genoiscas* (Genoese *i.e.* Italian needles) quadrants, charts and almanacs,[1] the latter enabling them to navigate by the stars, north and south, east and west. In 1505 Varthema (Hakluyt, p. 249) found a (Malay?) captain carrying the "compass and magnet after our manner: he had a chart which was all marked with lines perpendicular and across." Unfortunately he does not tell us the Arabic name, nor does he say whether the index directed south as in China. Elsewhere (p. 31), he speaks of the land-course being guided by compasses and charts, which the learned editor remarks, may refer to the Kibleh-numá,[2] the little portable instrument pointing Meccah-wards. Barbosa (p. 228) also notices the needle and loadstone in Borney (Borneo). Osorio adds that the "Moors yielded

[1] The word is apparently Arabic, El-Maná, the modus, the measure.

[2] Not "Kibleh-Nameh," which means a "book of the Kiblah."

little to the Portuguese in the science and practice of maritime matters."

The next important improvement was in measuring solar altitudes and stellar distances. We have no trustworthy account of the origin of the astrolabe or circle, the "arstable" of Chaucer's Treatise. It must be of great antiquity: Mr. George Smith brought a fragment from the Palace of Sennacherib. The circumference of the circle was divided into twelve parts, corresponding with the months and Zodiacal Signs. Thus the astrolabe would be the lineal ancestor of the quadrant and the sextant. "Usturláb" suggests that Arabia borrowed it from the Greeks. It had become exceedingly complicated with its strata of plates, containing tables of azimuths, almucantars, loxodromics, epicycles, concentrics and so forth. Although Athelard or Adelar of Bath wrote on it in A.D. 1120, when he returned from the East; and Maundevile (chap. 17) takes with the astrolabe the altitude of the "load-star," and possibly of the "Antarctic star" (one of the Southern Cross, true or false ?), Camoens seems to think (v. 25–6) that the invention shortly preceded his day. He confounds invention with improvement. Under D. Joam, the Jewish physicians, Mestre Rodrigo and Mestre Josepe, were assisted by Martin Behaim, in adapting the astrolabe to navigation: this was about 1480, seventeen years before Da Gama's voyage.

D. Gama, at his first landfall, measured the sun's altitude (v. 25) with a wooden astrolabe, three palms

(spans) in diameter, mounted upon a tripod (Barros, i. 4, 2). He had lesser instruments of brass, half a century before Tycho Brahe at Augsburg made the astrolabe easily portable. When the navigator showed his to "Malemo Cana," this Melindan pilot assured him that the Red Sea navigators used implements of triangular shape (sextants?), as well as quadrants, for observing the solar distance from the celestial equator. He also produced a small instrument of three plates, which was probably a simple astrolabe.

For noting time, the dial and its successors, the sand-glass and the water-glass (*horologium ex aquâ*),[1] had been superseded by the time-piece. The original Clepsydra at Athens (Aristoph., "Lysist.") was an intermittent spring like that of Siloam. This water-clock was the "Sheb" of old Egypt: we know nothing of the "Hemicyclium" invented by Berosus (B.C. 270). Clocks moved by weights and wheels are attributed to the Saracens (ninth century). Dante mentions ("Par.," xxiv.) horologes with wheels and works: Chaucer speaks of an "abbey orologe," or "clock." In 1344 Giacomo Dondo or Dondi built the great clock for the Paduan Piazza de Signori; and his family was entitled "Dondi del Orologio." The improved interior was made by Maestro Novello in 1448; and the city of Antenor has

[1] The hydraulic clock mentioned by Aristophanes and Aristotle was greatly improved in the reign of Ptolemy Evergetes by Ctesibius of Alexandria, to whom Vitruvius (ix. 9) attributes the invention circa B.C. 245. There were various kinds, even the "Cuckoo Clock" was not unknown.

ever claimed the invention of striking-clocks. This "horloge" still shows the twenty-four consecutive hours after Italian usage, the zodiacal solar course, the phases of the moon, the month-date, and the week-day. The watch proper is alluded to by Gaspar Visconti about 1500. The pendulum was introduced into the time-keeper as a regulating principle by the mathematician-mechanic Burgius (J. Burgi or de Burgi, nat. 1552: ob. 1632). The later sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries produced marvellously complicated clocks (Christ. Steibel, Jer. Metsker and Nich. Plankh of Augsburg; Mich. Sneeberger of Prague, Joh. Gruber, Peter Hell, and others), together with the "animated eggs of Nürnberg" in horn and metal (Joh. Sayler of Ulm; Gerh. Mut of Frankfurt, etc.).

Of the early telescope again, attributed to Roger Bacon (A.D. 1214–92), to Metius and to Jansen (1590), we know little. The true lens has been found in Egyptian and Assyrian ruins.[1] The celebrated Fracastoro (Girolamo, 1483–1553) invented (?) a glass for observing the stars. Regiomontanus had already produced (1436–76) the metorscope for determining the longitudinal and latitudinal distances between two given sites: in 1499 it was used by Amerigo Vespucci. For land-plotting as well as star-fixing, surveyors had the baculus,

[1] The lens described by Layard was of rock crystal, rudely ground on a lapidary's wheel with one face plain and the other convex. The invention was evidently derived from Egypt (Wilkinson, ii. ch. 7).

balestilha or Jacob's staff. Of this instrument there were many modifications described by Werner, by Cortes and, especially, by Pedro de Medina, who (1545) published at Valladolid his *Arte de Navegar*, the first practical treatise on navigation. The work was improved by Gemma Frisius, Wagenaar, Hood and others. "Jacob's Staff," figured in Davis's "Seaman's Secrets" (pp. 308–9), spread far and wide; Chardin (1664–70) found it, together with the astrolabe, common in Persia.[1] The Hindus also used it for astronomical observations. Hence, perhaps, the "crosses of black and blue wood" dug up, to the great surprise of Almeida and his men, when laying the foundations of Angediva fortress. These may, some suggest, have been the Swastika cross, the fanciful emblem of the "primæval fire-stick," concerning which so much stands written.[2]

D. Manoel consulted, in the interest of his great discovery-voyage, the astrologer, Abraham Çacoto, or Zacuto (Zákút). This savant not only reported well of the stars, he also materially aided the enterprise by teaching the use of a simplified astrolabe to the pilots, and probably to Da Gama, with whom he conversed at Lisbon. A copper plate, half a finger thick, and engraved with lines

[1] Eastern instruments are described by Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos in vol. i., part v., Mem. of the Academy, Lisbon.

[2] I hold it to be like the cross, the chevron, the circle and the oval, a mere ornament, the rudest form of the guilloche scroll. The savage's fire-stick is always of two, never of three pieces. Moreover, nails or even pegs applied to a fire-stick would be an anachronism, an absurdity.

and points, carried in the middle another plate sliding round the circumference: it was hung perpendicularly by a ring at midday; and the sun passing through two opposite holes marked the degrees and minutes after the fashion of the portable Roman sun-dial.[1] Moreover he drew up an "Almanach perpetuum sive Tacuinus,"[2] containing rules and tables for the sun's declination. Lastly he made large charts with *riscos* (lines and rhumbs?) of different colours, showing the names of the winds round the North star. He also placed on them navigating needles;[3] and a scale of degrees to the southward for reckoning the leagues traversed by the sun. Zakut, to his honour be it recorded, died a Jew, "having acquired such knowledge of the stars, and remaining blind in so bright a day as is the Holy Catholic faith." *Quoniam talis es, utinam noster esses!*

Thus our navigators were not so badly provided with scientific instruments as is usually supposed. Besides log, and line, and hour-glasses, including the *relogio de*

[1] This horologium viatorium, sive pensilium, was a metal circle about an inch and a half in diameter, pierced with a longitudinal slit: when suspended by a ring and swivel to the finger at the height of the eye, the sunbeam fell upon the numerals in the inside. The only specimen known to me in 1874 was in the little museum of Aquileja: when I returned there in 1880 it had disappeared, probably en route for England. Some six Roman sun-dials have been found there, most of them very complicated.

[2] The word is corrupted Arab., "Takwim" still used throughout Arabia and Persia.

[3] So I read *se pos huma* (not *nome*) *agulha de marear* in Stanley's "Correa," p. 24.

mar (half-hour glass), they carried compasses, astrolabes, cross-staves; almanach and ephemerides; maps, charts and ruttiers; and, perhaps, a time-piece and a telescope.

§ 2. The Voyage of Da Gama.

I have drawn up the following account, geographical and chronological, from a volume little studied in England although it is apparently one of the best, if not the best guide. The *Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama em* MCCCCXCVII[1] is written in a rude, uncultivated style, as shown by words like Sam Graviell (Gabriel), Bertolameu Diz (Dias), creligo for clerigo, and Samtiaguo. Apparently it is the work of some soldier or sailor of the fleet, who cannot have been "Samcho Mixiaa" (p. 5), nor Gonçalo Pires (pp. 69–71); consequently, by "eli-

[1] The MS. found in the Sancta Cruz Convent (Lisbon) was not an autograph. The first edition was published by Diogo Kopke (Professor of Mathematics) and Doutor Ant. da Costa Paiva, Oporto, 1838 (Jur. i. 486): the second edition (Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, MDCCCXI) is becoming rare and dear. The 8vo. is "corrected and augmented by some observations, chiefly philological," of the late A. Herculano, and Baron do Castello de Paiva. It contains a kit-cat of Da Gama for frontispiece, a profile of D. Manoel, and a poor outline-map of Africa, showing the Armada's two voyages, and, of course, chiefly fanciful. I can fairly recommend it for translation to the Hakluyt Society.

mination," it is attributed to Alvaro Velho. The author was upon the Berrio (p. 24) and probably returned home in her: he was also (p. 54) one of the twelve who escorted Da Gama when visiting the Calicut Rajah.

Whoever the writer was, his "Ruttier" is a gain to the history of a great exploit. The items are, (1) the Journal proper (p. 1–106) which is, unhappily, "unperfite;" (2) the list of products brought by the "Meccan ships"[1] to Calicut; (3) notices of the various Reynos or kingdoms (pp. 108–113), mostly from hearsay; (4) notes on the elephant, like all contemporary travellers; the "way in which they do battle;[2] how they are taken and how they are tamed"; (5) a valuable table of spicery-prices at Alexandria (pp. 115–6); and, lastly (6) the "language of Calicut," a short vocabulary of Malayalim or Malabar, followed by proper names of the people (pp. 116–9.) The characteristic is a peculiar and naïve realism; and the minute personal observations are rarely in fault. It ignores all claim to the heroic on the part of either commodore or crew. It shows Da Gama a strong and stout-hearted man, the stuff of which great explorers are made, but nothing more: indeed, his

[1] As opposed to the "country craft," the τοπικὰ πλοῖα of the Periplus.

[2] Ibn Batutah (see 147) tells us that the fighting elephant's hoofs were cased with irons whose ends were sharp like knives. Varthema (p. 127) mentions a sword two fathoms long (Nikitin calls it a scythe) made fast to the trunk. Knox ("Ceylon," p. 44) speaks of sharp iron with a socket of three edges placed on the teeth (tusks?).

dealings with the Calicut Rajah are less dignified than in the received accounts, notably in that of Correa (p. 171).

The English reader can now compare the Roteiro with another work of high utility in studying the Geography of Camoens, the Travels of Ludovico di Varthema.[1] This "gentleman of Rome" sought the "immortality of a laborious life" (p. 289); his motto was that "one eye-witness is worth more than ten hearsays;" and, "longing for novelty as a thirsty man longs for fresh water," he "went with his corporeal feet where others fly with the wings of mind." Accordingly he voyaged between 1503 and 1508 from Italy to China, and he wrote a remarkably full and intelligent description of what

[1] Translated for the Hakluyt Society by Mr. John Winter Jones, from the original Italian edition of 1810; with notes and an Introduction by the Rev. George Percy Badger. The latter, an authority upon Syria and Arabia, knows little of India and nothing of China. In pp. 27 and 47 he omits Seetzen; and he confounds the Hajj with the Ziyárat (p. 29). The sun is feminine in the Semitic families, not in "most of the Oriental languages" (lvii.): "Tristan de Cunna" (c. etc.) is very bad. The Portuguese possession of Timor is omitted (p. 103). Long before Dr. Krapf, Captains Owen (i. 405) and Boteler copied the Mombasah inscription; the former with a sketch of the gate (109). All these inaccuracies occur in the Introduction. My learned friend also was greatly misinformed when he states (Introd., 91) that Padre Sapeto was at Harar some years before me, and that several other Europeans had resided there half a century antecedent to his time. I have made careful inquiries amongst the Egyptian officers garrisoned at Harar: neither they nor Colonel C. E. Gordon of China ever heard of such residents.

he saw. There is nothing in the dates to prevent Camoens having read Varthema; and some passages suggest that he had.[1] It is curious to compare those early travellers with the Moors, whom Camoens treated so cavalierly. Ibn Batutah, of Fez, for instance, journeyed between 1324 and 1350; yet how immensely superior in point of style, learning and literary merit he is to the Europeans who followed him. Ibn Khaldún, of Tunis, (nat. 1332) laid the foundation of modern history, critical and inductive.

Other valuable aids are the "Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama and his Viceroyalty";[2] The Ruttier of Duarte Barbosa,[3] "India in the Fifteenth Century";[4] and the

[1] In Chap. i. of the book on Arabia Deserta we find the comparison of the starlings (repeated in Canto x. 94); and the description of the Bedawin is also in Camoens (x. 100).

[2] Translated (from the *Lendas da India* of Gaspar Correa—Correia? or Corréa?) by the Honble. Henry E. J. Stanley; accompanied by original documents with notes, and an Introduction. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, MDCCCLXIX. The volume wants a map, and more geographical notices: all the world does not know the modern name of the "River of good Signs." The notes within notes are awkward workmanship; and I cannot understand the tincture and furs of Da Gama's shield and crest.

[3] "A Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar." Translated by the Honble. Henry E. J. Stanley, from a Spanish MS. (Hakluyts, MDCCLXVI). The reader must observe that ambergris is always translated "amber," and *encienzo* (frankincense) "wormwood" (absinthium). Moreover, Camoens (viii. 82) does not make Da Gama address the Samiry Rajah as stated in p. 102. Barbosa wrote his work before 1516.

[4] Edited by R. H. Major for Hakluyts, MDCCCLVII. The

Albuquerque Commentaries before mentioned. The former went to the East in 1514, fourteen years before F. L. de Castanheda; wrote the history of half a century, and died about 1583. Juromenha regrets that Camoens did not base his poem upon this picturesque and Polybian work, instead of using Barros or Castanheda. But the Archpoet, who *escreve un poema y no una historia*, wanted nothing of the kind. Mr. Stanley holds that Correa's chronology of the voyage on the East African coast, founded on the data of the Astronomer Royal, is to be preferred. Here we join issue. I cannot accept the dates of a writer who makes the Armada tack for two months off The Cape in the summer season; and cross from Africa to India in the height of the Monsoon-rains when, as the Persians say, the seas are shut.[1]

volume contains the travels of Abd el-Razzák (A.D. 1442); of Nicoló de Conte (de Comitibus); of Athanasius Nikitin and of Hieronimo di Santo Stefano.

[1] The Oriental words in Correa also call for illustration. *Malemo* (p. 88) is not an instructor but a pilot (Mu'allim): "The time of the monsoon" (Mausim season) is simple tautology; the "Commentaries" correctly say, "the monsoon for the ships was now past." Farazola (118) is the Neo-Latin "Parcella" from pars; the Arab. Farsalah fraisle (of coffee, etc.): Hamilton writes "Frasella" and Varthema (p. 170) Farasola, making it twenty-five Ital. lbs. It varies from seven and a quarter lbs. (Barbosa, p. 221) to twenty-eight (more at Aden), and of these 3 1 buhár or load (generally 300 lb., or four cwt. in Barbosa, p. 224). Beyramis and Sinabafos (196–7), i.e. Sina-baft are both in Barbosa (Sinabasos, p. 42, and Beyramis, p. 70), and in Varthema (212). "Quil" (246) is not "a Malabar or Tamil word," but corrupted Arab.: hence Aboukir

Not a few writers suppose that Da Gama brought home a *Relaçam* (report) of his "perilous and glorious expedition." If so, the MS. is lost.[1] The only contemporary accounts generally known are those of the Roteiro and of Ramusio:[2] this first collector of Voyages and Travels, published (*Navigazioni*, etc., Venice, 1554), a memoir written by a gentleman of Verona, who happened to be in Lisbon when the explorer returned (Sept. 1499); and the confused production has been attributed without reason to Amerigo Vespucci.

I now proceed with the "Ruttier."[3]

Bay (Abú-Kír Father of Pitch). "A ship named Merim" (316) is the Mírí, the Prætorian ship, the "Ammiral," the flagship. Joar Fiquier (ibid.) is Jauhar-i-Fakih, the "theologian," the D.D. We know perfectly what the game of Mancal was and is (320): Lane's "Egyptians" described it, and I have seen it played in England. Cartah, a certificate (324), is the Arab. Kháritah, and probably both derive from charta. Catur (405) is the Arab. Katíreh, a small craft, our "cutter": so in Varthema (154) Chaturi is not, as his editor supposes, a corruption of Shakhtúr. Cazis, Joguedes and Fusta also want correction.

[1] See the "Commentaries" for subsidiary notices of the voyages of Da Gama, Pedralvares Cabral, Joam de Nova, and others. Introd. vol. ii. pp. xvi xxxvi.

[2] The great geographer is buried in the Madonna del Orto, Venice.

[3] The marginal dates (in romans) are those expressly stated by the Roteiro: the italics are calculated from the text; and references to The Lusiads are given in parentheses.

VOYAGE OUT.

DA GAMA, after passing the night in prayers at the chapel of D. Henry on the beach of Rastello, Restrello, or Restillo (iii. 87),[1] and after hearing mass in the morning, made sail. The year is accepted by all authors Camoens included (v. 2): it preceded that in which Columbus discovered the Orinoco or Oronoko mouth. The same day is given by Osorio: Correa prefers March 25, while various writers advocate July 2, 3, 9, 10, and even 20 (Roteiro, pp. 133–136). Camoens (loc. cit.) only makes Sol enter Leo (northern tropic).

Sat., July 8, 1497, O.S. July 23, N.S.

[1] Restrello means a carding-comb for hemp. According to Osorio Prince Henry built, for the convenience of sailors, a little chapel, 4,000 paces from the city, and gave it to the friars of Thomar. It is now a tinsman's shop. D. Manoel personally laid the first stone (1499) of the stately church and monastery N. Snra de Betlem or Belem (Bet-Lehem) which he transferred to his favourite Hieronymites: the work was completed by D. Joam III. The following quatrain by L. Andrea Resende (Narratio, etc., 1531) was cut upon the door:—

> Vasta mole sacrum, Divinæ in littore Matri
> Rex posuit regum maximus Emmanuel,
> Auxit opus heres regni et pietatis uterque
> Structura certant, relligione pares.

D. Manoel also built the detached Battery-tower to the north, and the Penha Convent upon the toppling crag of Cintra, which he often climbed to look out for his returning fleet. He was the first to descry the ship of Nicoláo Coelho seen standing across Tagus-bar.

The Armada ran in eight days to the Canarian Archipelago; and at night passed to the leeward of Lancerote, sailing between isle and coast. Sat., July 15. Next morning they saw the Terra Alta of Africa; and at night were off the mouth of the Rio de Ouro (Gold River). Here a thick darkness separated the Sam Rafael from the rest.[1] The rendezvous was at Sant' Iago, Cape Verds.

Four of the squadron, including B. Dias, met at the Ilha do Sal: they pushed on till the wind fell calm. Sun., July 23. At 10 A.M. (Wednesday) they sighted the flagship five leagues ahead, and made great rejoicings. Next day all arrived at the Praia de Santa Maria (Sant' Iago), where they took in water and provisions.

The Armada left Sant' Iago for the south: an accident delayed them two days and one night; and they resumed the voyage on the 22nd. Thurs., Aug. 3.

According to Camoens, the Fleet losing sight of Lisbon and Cintra (v. 1–3) sailed along the Mauritano-Atlantic coast, seeing the "New Islands," discovered or rather rediscovered by "generous Henry" (v. 4). The first mentioned is Madeira (v. 5), whose charms are duly noted: line 4 has been understood to identify it with the fanciful "Isle of Juno." They then passed Massylia (El-Dar'ah), where the Poet somewhat misplaces the

[1] This account agrees with Castanheda, and differs widely from Correa (chap. viii.).

"Azenegues." These negroids are called from the Azana, Sanagá, or Senegal River (v. 7): it is probably confused with the greater artery; hence "*Negro* Sanagá"; and the remark of certain commentators that the natives call it Ba-fing (Black River), the Mandenga name for the true or Western Niger.

Camoens separates Barbary in the north from Æthiopia: the latter, in his day, contained not only Abyssinia, but Guinea, Benin, and Biafra; Congo-land, Caffraria, and Monomotápa on the Zambeze. After crossing the Tropic of Cancer (v. 7), they came upon the Arsenarium Promontorium[1] (Cape Verd); the Canaries or Dog-islands, well known to the ancients and the mediævals; the Hesperides (Verdean Archipelago, including Sant' Iago, v. 8);[2] the Jalofo (Joloff)[3] country, a large tract lying

[1] Ptolemy places it in E. Long. 13° and N. Lat. 13°; the identification was made in early days by the Portuguese (Barros, i. 1, 216). The Pelusian has also an Arsenium Promontorium (E. Long. 8° and N. Lat. 12°), and an Arsenaria Colonia: this outpost on the Mediterranean is now the Algerian Tlemcen, retaining the name of the tribe called by the Romans Temici.

[2] The Verdean group lies about one hundred leagues north-west of its cape. It was discovered in 1446 (not 1460) by the Genoese, Mice Antonio de Nolle, Nolli or Nola, nicknamed Antoniotto (Big Anthony), and his two brothers, Bartolomeo and Rafaelle. The honour is commonly given to the Venetian, Ca da Mosto. Mr. Major supports the claims of the Portuguese Diogo Gomez, the "Gomes Pires" of M. Valdez (p. 288, "Six Years of a Traveller's Life," etc.). History tells us that the Archipelago was found uninhabited; but legend speaks of an old "Joloff" occupation.

[3] I have noticed this people which is properly called "Wolof"

between the Senegal and the Gambia; the great Mandenga race mis-called Mandingo, who still wash gold; the Gambea (Gambia) stream, whose mouth has long been English; the Dorcades or Gorgon Islands; Sierra Leone, our negro and negroid "Inferno"; Cape Palmas in Liberia; the Rio Grande (v. 12), in N. Lat. 11°, a proper name not to be translated "great river"; and the island of St. Thomas, still Portuguese.[1]

A few words upon these archipelagoes. The classics, especially Pliny (N. Hist., 36–7) recognised six groups in the Æthiopian Sea. The first was Cerne (Kerne), "opposite Æthiopia," usually identified with Arguim Bank (N. Lat. 20°), rediscovered by G. P. d'Azurara (Chronica, 1453): how vague the site is may be judged from the fact that some find "Cerne" in Madagascar. No. II. is Atlantis, not the lost continent (America?), but the isle called by Faria y Sousa *la encubierta* (the hidden): it may have been either a tradition of the Azores (Western Islands), or one of the many débris of the Atlantis myth. The Gorgades Insulæ (No. iii.) offers peculiar difficulties. Pliny (vi. 36), following Xenophon Lampsacenus, would place them two days off shore, and opposite the Hesperon Keras (Hesperium or Arsenarium Promontorium): consequently they must be the Cape Verdes. But this is the old home of the Gorgons, where Hanno found the

("Wit and Wisdom from West Africa," pp. 3–5). Mungo Park unconsciously talks Wolof, thinking it to be "Mandingo."

[1] For these West African sites, as far as N. Lat. 4°, I must refer students to my "Wanderings in West Africa" (vol. i.).

gorillas;[1] and, needless to say, the Anthropoid has never been met with in these distant islands, the Hesperides of Camoens (v. 8).[2] The Dorcades (doe-islands?)[3] of The Lusiads (v. 11) inserted between the Gambia and Sierra Leone, may be the Bissagos or Bissangos in N. Lat. 10°–12°; one of those sewers, Bulama, was occupied by the English at the end of the last century.[4] No. iv. group is formed by the two islands of the Hesperides, probably a later creation. The Insulæ Purpurariæ (of orchilla-lichen?) are found by Bory de St. Vincent and others in the Madeiran group, which was certainly uninhabited:

[1] Dr. Levezow of Berlin believes these anthropoids to have suggested the myth of the three one-eyed Gorgons: but Greek fancy wanted no such realism. The Duc de Luynes has also treated the question (pp. 311–32, Ann. de l'Inst. 1834). My derivation of the word from the African *Aguyla* is given in a volume on Gorilla-land (chap. xi.); and I would bespeak the reader's notice, for my conviction that the Periplus of Hanno ended near the Equator, whereabouts Ptolemy places his "Theon Ochema" (vehicle of the Gods), the only volcano still intermittently active, on the West African intertropical coast.

[2] The Ancients placed the "Gardens of the (three or four) Hesperides" with their golden apples on the River Oceanus, in parts of Libya, and at the foot of Mount Atlas in Mauritania. The confused fable was probably originated by the orange. Camoens follows Lucan (ix. 358). Herodotus mentions only the Euesperites (iv. 198), and in Scylax they become Hesperides: the site was east of the Syrtes.

[3] Here Camoens (v. 11) establishes the three sisters with one eye: these are the "Greæ, degenerate sisters of the Gorgons": Bacon makes the former represent fair war, the latter treasonable war.

[4] The Bissagos are probably the Biziguiche of the Commentaries.

Mr. Major proposes Canarian Fuerteventura and Lanzerote, the latter named from Lancelot Malocello (Maloisel) of Genoa. Lastly (No. vi.) are the Canaries, the Blessed Islands of Strabo (v. 1) *quas fortunatas putant* (Sebosus in Plin., v. 1). Petrarch, who dabbled in geography, and who studied Africa for his poem, couples them (circ. 1346) with Taprobane and Thule. The first map that contains them dates from Florence 1351. As many local names prove the Guanches (Wánshí) were simply Berbers; and it remained for a German professor, Von Löher of Bavaria, to make them Vandal fugitives from Mauritania Tingitana.

Passing Sam Thomé (v. 11) and its neighbours, Fernam de Pó (Fernando Po) and Principe, in the horrid Biafran Bight, Da Gama sailed parallel with the "great kingdom of Christian Congo"[1] (v. 12) and the glorious Zaïre. I can only hope that this gracious and noble name will never be converted to the "Livingstone River." He then lost sight of Polaris, and noticed the Southern cross of which Dante has been supposed to sing:[2] both Poets also observed the comparative barrenness of the southern sphere (v. 14, 5–6).

We now return to the Roteiro.

[1] The conversion of the Manicongo ("Master of Congo"), and discovery of the majestic Zaïre River are noticed in my "Cataracts of the Congo" (vol. ii. chap. i., etc.).

[2] "Mission to Dahome" (vol. i. 182). The four stars of Dante (Purg. i. 22) are supposed to represent certain virtues; but the Poet describes them physically. He may have heard of the constellation from some follower of Marco Polo.

The Golfam (Sargasso-weed) gave signs of land. At 9 A.M. on Saturday (Nov. 4) the voyagers sighted an unknown coast; dressed in their best, and saluted the commodore.

Wed., Nov. 1 (All Saints).

A large inlet appearing, Da Gama sent Pero d'Alemquer (his pilot) to sound: Castanheda and Goes say Nicoláo Coelho. Next day they entered the Angra de Santa Ellena (St. Helen's Bay),[1] in S. Lat. 32° 40′. The sail from Sant'Iago covered four months minus one day: Osorio (lib. i.) reduces it to three: Correa and Barros make it "nearly five months," and Camoens (xxiv.) five lunes. The weather was varied by calms and storms, doubtless the equinoctial gales. The Armada anchored on Wednesday, and spent eight days careening and "cleaning" ships. They named the Berg River, four leagues to the south-east, "Rio de Sam Thiago" (Samtiaguo, p. 4). On Thursday they brought on board the flagship a native honey-hunter, a "small man, not unlike Samcho Mixiaa": he was clothed and sent ashore. On Friday and Saturday some fourteen to fifteen blacks came to the fleet: they ignored the gold

Tues., Nov. 7.

[1] Not to be confounded as by some with (the Rock of) St. Helena (Roteiro, 137). This was discovered by Joam de Nova (with whom Barbosa sailed, Introd., p. vii.) on his return from India in 1502. He also discovered and named Joam de Nova Island in the Mozambique Channel (S. Lat. 17° 10′), and Conception, now the well-known Ascension Island (Commentaries, Introd., vol. ii. p. xx.). Fernam Lopez, the hermit of St. Helena in Albuquerque's day (Commentaries, iii. xxxv.) may have contributed to the legend of Robinson Crusoe.

and spices shown by the Commodore, and were delighted with little bells and beads (v. 29): Barros adds a cap. On Sunday, Nov. 11, as they appeared willing to trade, Fernam Velloso, whose name was given to Mazizima Bay, landed with leave to visit their kraal.[1] A dispute arose, the cause being told in different ways by Barros (i. 4, 5), the Ruttier (p. 7), and Camoens (v. 30–36). Da Gama and his captains hastened to recover their man; and the former, who had landed to use the astrolabe, was wounded with an arrow in the leg (v. 26, 33). Three or four of the crew also suffered, and no wonder: they went ashore unarmed. All agree that the natives drew first blood. They were evidently "Caffres" (Namaquas?); and the Roteiro makes them wear the still used *baynha* (sheath), which Osorio calls *lignea vagina*. They lived on roots, seals, whales, and on antelope hunted with hounds. Their arms were horns, fire-hardened at the points (?), and mounted on staves; their ornaments were earrings of copper and wampum,[2] and they fanned themselves with fox-brushes.

The Armada left St. Helen Bay; sighted The Cape on Saturday evening; tacked seawards and landwards; and, meeting a foul wind, returned to her anchorage on the same day (Sund. Nov. 19). They passed The Cape definitively at noon Thurs., Nov. 16.

[1] The Port. "Curral" (a fold) has been applied to these circular S. African villages: a silly critic tells me that "Kraal" is modern.

[2] Shells ground to small thin disks, a prehistoric adornment still common in S. Africa.

on Wed., Nov. 22. They do not mention "Saldanha Bay," as Table Bay was called by early navigators;[1] but they noted to the south a large inlet, "False Bay," soon to be infamous for wrecks. On this day, the fifth after they left St. Helen, Camoens (v. 37) places the apparition of Adamastor. He evidently metamorphoses him (v. 61) into the "Mesa," as the Portuguese called Table Mountain.

The Armada, now sailing eastward along South Africa, made on the fifth day her second landfall (v. 61) the *Angra de Sam Braz*[2] (Bight of St. Blasius, now Mossel Bay), sixty leagues from St. Helena by sea (read "direct by land"?) Here the provision-ship was broken up. The natives were friendly; although in a quarrel about watering, B. Dias, the first White they ever saw, had killed

Sat., Nov. 25 (Saint Catherine).

[1] The present Saldanha Bay, between Saint Helen's and Table Bays, is a misnomer. See pp. 62, 154, etc, "The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster," etc., edited by Clements R. Markham, C.B. Hakluyt, MDCCCLXXVII. Antonio de Saldanha, sent to Portugal by Tristam da Cunha in 1506, gave his name to Table Bay. Here the Viceroy D. Almeida was killed by the Kafirs, March 1, 1510.

[2] Barros and Goes, followed by Fonseca (p. 498), represent the Armada passing the Cape on the 20th Nov. Castanheda adds "Wednesday, *the 20th*," whereas it would be (Nov.) 22d, 1497. Correa makes the squadron stand out to sea for one month, return to land; stand out again for two months, and finally double the Cape in November. But this would be the Cape summer when the wind is fine and the only fear is an occasional squall. I was once six weeks in sight of Table Mountain; but the good ship Mary Anne was sailing westward, and in June midwinter.

one of them with a cross-bow. They came in crowds of 200, bringing wives and children, a sign that Africans do not mean fighting. Some rode oxen (v. 63); others danced and piped; they took small gifts from the Commodore's hand, and bartered their ivory, manillas, sheep, and hornless cattle. Hence the name Angra-das Vacas, or dos-Vaqueiros (of herds or of herdsmen). At Sam Braz the navigators planted a Padram and a Cross made out of a mizen-mast: both were pulled down before the ship left the coast by the negroes, who showed the usual signs of treachery. Da Gama remained at Sam Braz nearly a fortnight, and left it on Conception Day (Frid. Dec. 8).

A severe storm separated Coelho from the Armada, which he presently rejoined: Correa and Osorio place it between Dec. 8 and 25. Both writers, especially the former, give a long and circumstantial account of the two mutinies which it caused; and of the determined severity with which they were repressed by Da Gama. Camoens ignores them as unsuited to heroics; and the silence of Barros and the Roteiro suggests, perhaps, official revision.

Tues., Dec. 12. Vespers of Santa Luzia.

Still sailing Eastwards, they passed the Ilhéu da Cruz (St. Croix), so called from the Cross and Padram planted by B. Dias: it is placed sixty leagues from Sam Braz. Thence they ran five leagues to the Ilhéus Chaõs (Flat Islands) and the same distance to the Padram of St. Gregory, the Easternmost set up by their predecessors on the mainland.

Frid., Dec. 15.

Passing the Easternmost Padram, they found the "Caffre Coast" charming (v. 68), as do all travellers: it wants nothing but ports. Sat., Dec. 16. Leaving Sam Braz, they rode off the Rio do Iffante, "the last land discovered by Bartholomeu Dias." This is the Groote Vische, Grande Rivière des Poissons, our "Great Fish." Some authorities write Ilfante (Elephant or Oliphant), which, in Camoens' day, would be spelt Alifante. It has been confounded with the Sam Christovam stream, eight leagues to the North.

Voyagers of those days note six inlets beyond Cape Agulhas (of needles): the latter is the Southernmost point of Africa, now provided with a pharos and a fixed white light ranging 18 miles. These are, sailing with Da Gama west—east (1), Sam Sebastiam, so called by Manoel de Mesquita Perestrello, sent by D. Sebastiam to reconnoiter the coast between The Cape and Correntes; he left a Ruttier, dated 1575.[2] The second is the Bahia das Vaccas, Vleesch or Flesh Bay, followed by (3) Sam Braz, St. Blaise or Mossel Bay; (4) Formosa or Plettenberg; and (5) Sam Francisco, Camtoo or Gamtoo. The sixth is Da Lagôa (of the Lake), alias Zwarts-Kop (Swart-Head), our Algoa Bay in which Port Elizabeth stands. The modern names of the several Capes define their inlets

[1] The word is explained in chap. iii. § 2.

[2] It is not mentioned by Mr. A. C. Burnell in his valuable and scholarly brochure, "A Tentative List of Books and some MSS. Relating to the History of the Portuguese in India Proper." Mangalore, Basel Mission Press, 1880.

sufficiently well; yet geographers are not agreed upon the identifications. D'Anville makes Vleesch Bay correspond with Sam Braz, which he calls Santa Catharina: Malte Brun transfers St. Blaise westwards to Sam Sebastiam, and confounds Mossel Bay with Formosa or Plettenberg, further east.

From Algoa Bay the coast, garnished with various outliers, sweeps to the north-east. "Cross Island" is a neighbour of the "Flat Islands" (our Bird Islands ?), so called because they are visible only at a two-league offing. The following comparative table shows the discrepancies of Portuguese authors concerning the position of B. Dias' last Cross (now "Point Padrone)" :—

West.

Roteiro (p. 15).	Castanheda and Goes.	Barros.
"The Cape"	Ditto	Ditto
Angra de Sam Braz. (60 leagues)	Ditto	—
Ilhéu da Cruz (60 leagues)	Ilhéu da Cruz, last Padram of Dias (53 leagues)	Ilhéu da Cruz or Penedo das Fontes (Fountain-rock) Dias' last Padram (i. 3, 4).
Ilhéus Chaõs (5 leagues)	Ditto	Ditto
Dias' last Padram (5 leagues)	—	—

East.

(Rio do Infante, 15 leagues.)

The Roteiro is confirmed by Perestrello, who places the four "Cross Islands" between the Bahia da Lagôa (Algoa Bay) west, and the "Flat Islands," four leagues further east. Perestrello describes the Penedo Fountain, a split rock eight leagues beyond the R. do Infante. Barros (i. 3 and 4) makes Dias set up his landmark, the "Saint Iago," at the Serra Parda, S. Lat. 24° (Brown Range, Zwarts-Kop?); the Holy Cross on the islet, S. Lat. 33° 45′; and, when returning, the Padram Sam Filippe, upon the "great and notable Cape" (of Good Hope).[1] In Correa (p. lxxix), Da Gama, after doubling The Cape, enters a river to the East, and other rivers when it leaves the coast—all in November.

The Wester changing to an Easter (Monday, Dec. 18), next day they landed and found that they had been driven back to Cross Island by the sweep of the current (v. 66–7). This Ocean Stream begins at Cape Guardafui; and, depending upon the Trade-winds, generally sweeps down coast till it rounds Cape Agulhas. Hence the Cabo-das-Correntes (not the Spanish "Corrientes") between Sofala and Natal. Many ships have been lost by it; and, in the voyage of "Sindbad the Sailor," which is a cruise down coast, or Da Gama's voyage inverted, its traction is attributed to a "Magnet Mountain."[2]

[1] In the Insularium Henr. Martini Germani, a map drawn between the voyages of Dias and Da Gama, a place is marked here, usque ad ilha de'fonte p'venit ultima navigatio portugalēsium. Ano. dm. 1489 ("India in the Fifteenth Century," p. xc.).

[2] Compare "India in the Fifteenth Century" (Introd. pp. xxx–xlv,

M. Polo makes it the reason why Asiatics did not sail south of Zanzibar. Both the Roteiro and Camoens mention that a strong Souther set in, and that eventually wind beat water.

They then sailed 75 leagues along an undiscovered coast, which they named from the day of exploration Natal or Christmas. This date (O.S.), though crucial, is not mentioned by Camoens: it is preserved by the Colony and ignored by "Durban," the capital. New Year's Day was spent at sea; and a fresh landfall was made on Epiphany (v. 68).

The fleet was reduced to drink salt water when a small river was sighted. Next day they landed and found twenty to forty natives, women included. The men, who wore

Thurs., Jan. 10, 1498.

quoting from Baron Walckenaer), and Barbosa (p. 94), where the tale of Sayf el-Muluk is referred to Malay annals; and where Sumatra is evidently alluded to. The Magnet Mountains is also in Maundevile (chap. xv.). The gigantic tortoise (*Colossochelys Atlas*) of the sub-Himalayas, and weighing in Sumatra 103 lb. (Varthema, p. 241), has been found in Madagascar. Even the "Roc" (not an Epyornis) has lately been discovered. The French missionaries brought to Zanzibar from Udóe, on the Upper Wámi, the tips of flippers measuring two and a half feet long. They declare that the bird is said to have had its habitat about the Equatorial African lakes; and Herr Hildebrand, a well-known naturalist traveller, accepts the discovery. This would have delighted the late Prof. G. G. Bianconi, of Bologna, who foretold that the giant bird would be found. I wrote to Dr. Kirk, H.M.'s agent and consul-general for Zanzibar in 1875; but the answer did not come till 1879, and in the meantime my kind friend and correspondent had died without hearing of his "Roc."

sheaths, were of large size and proved friendly. Their Chief, who was saluted with the hand-clapping common to West and East Africa, understood Martim Afonso's Congoese; and, on receiving presents, he made a return of poultry and lodged his visitors in comfort. Hence the land was named *Terra da Boa Jente* (of Good Folk) and the "large river" (v. 68), Rio dos Reyes (Reis) ot The Kings or Epiphany, the Aroé of D'Anville. The Roteiro (p. 20) terms it Do Cobre (of copper), from the natives wearing metal wires on their hair, arms, and legs. Others transfer the Copper River, also called the Aguada da Boa Paz (the Boa Jente of the Roteiro), to a site further north and nearer the Limpopo (Oori, Crocodile, etc.), whose mouth is the Inhampura (S. Lat. 25° 11′ 36″). The people had also "tin," which may be the zinc still carried to the coast by Arab traders; and they could extract salt from sea-water. Here the Armada halted five days; they found no knowledge of India (v. 69), nor could they fill all their casks, as the wind was fair. The stream must be the Maniça, (Manyissa), which disembogues into Delagoa (Da Lagôa or Lourenço Marquez) Bay. The latter still belongs to Portugal, but the persecuted Boers of the Transvaal [1] once talked of taking refuge there.

[1] The treatment of the Dutch Boers is no honour to England. The unjust policy was forced upon the colonial authorities by the missionaries; and the latter were incited by the pro-slavery policy of the Dutch. The late Dr. Livingstone did sorry work in this matter. Major Serpa Pinto, "How I crossed Africa," has treated

Passing Sofalah (v. 73) without knowing it, the squadron entered a broad river which the "Berrio" had discovered on Jan. 8. This was the "Quillimane" (Kilima-ni in or from, the hillock) a branch of the mighty Za-mbeze (River of Fish). Barros places it fifty leagues below (*i.e.* north of)[1] Sofálah. Joam dos Santos ("Ethiopia Oriental," ii. 10; Pinkerton, xvi.) tells us that the Delta, which is ever changing, was in the sixteenth century formed by two arms, distant some thirty leagues apart. The Southern or main was then the Luabo, which forked into the Luabo Velho and the Cuama Velho: hence the plural "Rios" de Cuama. The smaller was the Quillimane with its bifurcation, the Linde. Thurs., Jan. 17.

The Caffres wore cotton waistcloths, which may even then have been imported;[2] and their women pierced the lips (Barbosa, p. 10) for three pelele, or labials of twisted tin (zinc?) Two chiefs came on board, one wearing a cap of green silk, and the other a silk *Touca*

the question in vol. ii. 301–5. Lourenço Marques, an outlier of the Mozambique Province, was adjudged to Portugal by Marshal Macmahon. In May '79 followed the "Delagoa Treaty," granting England leave to run a Railway to the Transvaal, of which Lourenço Marques is the natural port. Newspaper-readers are familiar with the results in Portugal, and with the wretched "Boer War."

[1] Camoens also (v. 84) runs *down* coast (*Costa abaixo*) when we should run *up* it.

[2] Barbosa (p. 6) tells us that the S. African Moors had grown much fine cotton; but they wove it white, having no dyes.

(a toque): this calotte, still common on the coast, must not here be translated "turban" (Fanshaw's "terbant"); although sometimes applied to the more ceremonious headgear, the Fota (ii. 94), or shawl worn by the "king."[1] The good tidings that large ships passed that way, caused them to name the Quillimane *Rio dos Bons Sinaes* ("River of good Signs") somewhat prematurely. A terrible attack of scurvy, the first of two, and poetically and pathetically described by Camoens (v. 80–3) for the first time in verse, killed about thirty sailors. Barros complicates it with erysipelas. The peculiar cure, practised by Da Gama, is noted by Correa (chap. x.): it appears in Apuleius (Bohn, p. 252) on the "filthy manners of the Iberian's washing his teeth and gums."

The Armada halted at the Quillimane upwards of a month, burying their dead, scraping their ships (v. 79), taking in water, and setting up the Padram de Sam Rafael (v. 78). On the day after departure (Saturday, Feb. 24), they saw three islets; two well wooded, the third bare. Hence they sailed along shore six days, anchoring at night.

They sighted islands near the Continent: on the following day, seven or eight Almadias, monoxyles or "boats made of one piece," the Arabic El-Máziyah (a ferry), put off from shore playing on trumpets.[2] The men were of ruddy

Thurs., March 1.

[1] This Fota is the Fata of Nikitin (p. 9).

[2] *In orig.* Anafis, from the Arab. El-Nafír, a tuba or straight

hue, they ate and drank wine with the strangers whom they thought to be Turks ; and, offering to pilot the ships into port, they left them. The helm of the "Berrio" (Capt. Coelho) was broken by bumping on a rock ; but the vessel floated off and anchored with her consorts two crossbow-shots from the village. This is called in the Roteiro (pp. 26, 30, 102, 105) Moncobiquy, Mocombiquy, and Mamcobiquy ; and by Barbosa (p. 9) Mozambique. The Governor, *Colyytam* (Sultan)[1] or Xeque (Shaik), is named by Barros Çacoeja or Zacoeja (Shah Khwájah?). The islet was then a station of Arabo-African Moslems, Wásawahíli, or Coast half-castes, subject to "Quiloa." The Portuguese found in port four ships of "white Moors,"—Arabs from Yemen.

The "Lord of the Isles," who was like a viceroy, received Coelho hospitably. He afterwards visited the Armada, a civility ignored by Barros (i. 4, 4); and showed contempt for the petty presents. Having ascertained that the explorers were Christians, he determined to destroy them ; but the plot was betrayed by a pilot. The hatred of the Caffres was that of the savages for the civilised ; of the wild dog for the tame dog. The "Moors" or Moslems in Africa, as well as in India, were

trumpet, not a clarion (lituus or spiral trumpet) nor a cornu (horn), much less a "timbrel" (Fanshaw).

[1] The cedille under the initial consonant has been omitted. Mahmud of Ghazni (circ. A.D. 100) was the first to style himself "Sultán" (i.e. ruler). On the S. African Coast petty governors take the title ; which is like king, *Ke* or *Le*, on the West Coast.

urged not only by bigotry, but by self-interest: they felt that their occupation was going. For ages the Arabs had been the carriers of the Eastern world; then, as now, their descendants were the middlemen who bought cheap from the wild men of the interior; and who sold dear to the coast-merchant. Hence *quieta non movere* was their motto."[1]

The island-folk told the navigators that there were many settlements along the reefy shore; and especially mentioned an insular town whose people were half "Moors," half Christians. Of the latter two were found at Mozambique; Indians (Hindú pagans?) held as prisoners. The Portuguese wept for very joy to hear that *Preste Joham das Indias baixas* (Prester John of the Nether Indias) lived at some distance in the interior.

Camoens gives the order of events between Natal and Mozambique as follows. Leaving the hospitable Rio dos Reyes, Maniça or Limpopo (v. 68), and mastering the strong current, the weary squadron passed Sofálah and was drifted by the set of the sea landwards (v. 74), to the embouchure of a large river, the Zambeze, carrying canoes (v. 75). The sailors, Wásawahíli, who knew a few words of Arabic (v. 76), spoke of large ships and white traders (v. 77). The river was therefore called "of Good Signs"; and the region Sam Rafael, after

So, when penetrating to the Lake Region of Central Africa, my chief danger was from the European agents and "Middlemen" of Zanzibar. Some of them, though now grown old and gouty, have not forgiven me.

Tobias' handsome guide (v. 78). Scurvy broke out and killed many. Lastly they arrived at "hard Mozambique" (v. 84).

Correa makes the navigators enter the "River of Mercy" (Do Cobre, dos Reyes, Maniça) on Jan. 6, 1498 (Epiphany). There they remained a month, careening the ships and curing scurvy. They broke up "Berrio"; planted the Sam Rafael column, and left in February. After several days' sailing they passed the banks of Sofálah; overhauled a Zambuco[1] (foyst); and, about three weeks afterwards, made Mozambique at the end of March, 1498.

Having hired two pilots and paid them 30 *meticaes* ($14) of gold,[2] Da Gama dropped seawards a league or so to the Ilhéu de Sam Jorje, where he intended to halt for Sunday mass, confession, and communion. He put out two armed boats to fetch an absent pilot, when five to six Zambucos, whose crews carried bows, long

Sat., March 10.

[1] My "Pilgrimage," etc., describes the Arab "Sambúk," which Ibn Batutah (Lee, p. 25) calls the Turkish "Senbuki," and Varthema Sambuchi. Bluteau declares that it is undecked, and built without bolt-work. The word may have given rise through the Portuguese *Sumaca* to our "smack." The characteristic craft of the Sawáhil is the Mtepe (Arab. Muntafiyah), which I have described in "Zanzibar," etc., i. 73 4.

[2] The Miskál (=4.69 grammes) is the $\frac{1}{100}$ of a Ratl and $\frac{1}{200}$ of the Oke. In Correa's time (Part ii. chap. 3) it was worth 500 reis = ½ a dollar. Goes (i. 37) reduces it to 420 reis. Barbosa (p. 211) gives 6½ miskals = 1 oz. Barros makes 30 miskals = 14 milreis.

arrows,[1] and targets (*tavolachinhas*), made signs that the strangers must return to the settlement. The small flotilla was dispersed by a few shots.

The Squadron sailed Northwards (Sunday, March 11); and, on Tuesday, had covered twenty leagues. The explorers saw high land; but were unable to make way on account of calms. Presently an Easter set in; and, after two days, drove them back to "Mass Island." Thence they were compelled to make Mozambique Fort for water, which was found only on the mainland behind the islet. The "king, desiring peace, sent a white Moor, a Xarife,[2] that is a clerk (*creligo*) and a great drunkard."

After failing, by the pilots' fraud, to find water in the morning, in the evening they succeeded. Some thirty "Moors" (Barros says 2,000) vapouring on the open shore with assegais (*azagaias*)[3] were driven into "the bush" by three cannon-

Thurs., March 15.

[1] The modern arrows everywhere in East Africa are exceptionally short: not so in South Africa.

[2] The Roteiro-notes (p. 152) tell us that "Xarife" means chief, high official, not priest. The unlettered sailor-author knew better. Although El-Islam has, strictly and theoretically speaking, no ecclesiastical order, the Sherifs enjoy a kind of religious rank, *noblesse de Sacrement*, as the French lady irreverently described the nobles of modern Rome. Of the Maroccan Sherifs I have treated in chap. iii. Barros notices a Moor from Fez at Mozambique.

[3] The word is doubtful, and disputed. It appears as "Hersegaye" about A.D. 1414 ("Meyrick, Arms," etc., ii. 85 and 185), meaning the demilune of the Albanian Stradiots. As "Zagaye" and "Arzagaye," it became temp. Henry VII. a lance twelve feet

shot. The Portuguese also recovered a fugitive "chattel" belonging to Joam de Coimbra.

In the evening a Moor boarded the ships, and offered himself as a guide to the spring. The Commodore accepted; and, wishing to show his strength, ordered cannon in the boats. As these approached the wretched thatched village (*Aldéa*),[1] the Moors, who had built a stockade and were armed with shields and daggers (*agomias*),[2] poured in sling-stones, arrows, and assegais. The boats let fly with their bombards; dispersed the mob; and, after two hours, returned home to dine. They then landed again, seized four negroes out of the Shérif's boat, and plundered small matters, pots and baskets, cloth and provaunt. On Sunday they watered; they made for the village next day in armed boats; and, as the people feared to come out for parley, they fired on them. Camoens gives a dozen stanzas (i. 84–85)

Sat., March 24 (Vespers of our Lady).

long; and in Demmin ("Arms and Armour," London, Bells, 1877) it is a long, slender spear used by the knights of Rhodes. We now apply "Assegai" only to the Kafir javelin. I believe the word to be the Arab. El-Házikah, the piercer, from the root Hazaka (حذق).

[1] The Arab. El-Diyat, opposed in Portuguese to Arraial; the latter is the military settlement, as I have noticed in the "Highlands of the Brazil" (i. 109). Mozambique was in those days a village with a fine port, described by all travellers.

[2] Also written *Agumia* and *Gomia;* the "Gomio" of Barbosa (p. 80), and is the Arab. El-Jumbiyah, a curved or rather crooked waist-dagger which I have sketched in my "Pilgrimage," etc.

to this miserable affair. On March 27, the ships dropped down to the Ilhéus de Sam Jorje, and there waited three days for a fair wind. Thus they were twenty-eight days, off and on, near Mozambique: Correa reduces the term to 20–22, and makes them leave it on a Sunday, April 8 or 15.

The Armada sailed with light breezes (Thursday, March 29). According to the Roteiro they had made twenty-eight leagues, but the currents swept them back on "Saturday, the 30th." Evidently one of these two dates is erroneous.

They reached a number of islets near shore, and so closely packed that one could not be distinguished from the other. These are the Querimba group, mostly inhabited. The Southernmost was called *Ilha-do-Açoutado* (Barros, i. 4, 5), because the Moor pilot was "flogged" for lying. It is the Quiziba or Das Cabras (of she-goats) in modern charts; and Barros places it 70 leagues north of Mozambique.

Sun., April 1.

They saw (Monday, April 2) five leagues off land other islands, which must be the outliers of *Cabo Delgado*, though these are nearer shore. The Roteiro does not mention that important headland; and Camoens (i. 43) apparently applies the term *Promontorio Prasso*[1] (i. 43, 77) to the Cabo-das-Correntes, South of

[1] Wild work has been made with this word. Fanshaw and Quillinan are literal; "The Promontory Prassus." Mickle (p. 21) has the "Cape of Praso": the other translators and commentators stick to "Prasso." Fracastorius is the worst, "Prasumque

Mozambique. The word Πράσον (Lat. Prasum, a leek or leek-green) may allude either to the floating seaweed, or to the undeciduous foliage of the forest. Marinus of Tyre placed it in S. Lat. 45° 45', far beyond The Cape; till, frightened by such a parallel, he reduced it to S. Lat 24°. The Periplus ignores it: Ptolemy (vii. 3, 5) makes it the southernmost projection of East Africa in S. Lat. 15°.[1] But the Pelusian's parallels are relative. His point of departure was Aromata Head or Guardafui, which he places in North Lat. 6° instead of 11° 55'; and therefore we must subtract 6° from his stations further south. Thus reducing S. Lat. 15° to 9° we obtain a near approach to that very remarkable feature the Delgado or "Thin Cape," which lies in South Lat. 10° 41' 2". I again venture to call the geographer's attention to this point. A neglect to subtract from Ptolemy's latitudes led to the old and not yet exploded error of identifying his Menouthias or Menuthias (S. Lat. 12°), with Madagascar bisected by S. Lat. 20°.

About noon they sighted high land and two islets near the shore, which was foul. As they drew closer in, the pilots found that the currents had swept them beyond the "Island

Wednes., April 4.

sub Arcto": Millié is the only one who knows it to be the modern Delgado, *le Cap Vérd du Zanguebar.*

[1] This position would be 3° (= 180 miles) S. of Menuthias, which must be one of the Zanzibarian Archipelago. The three chief islets are (1) Pemba S. Lat. 5° 29'.3; (2) Zanzibar (town) 6° 27'.7; and (3) Mafiyah (Momfia of our maps) 7° 38'.6. I cannot but think that the latter is the original Menuthias.

of Christians" (i. 95, 98). The Roteiro calls it Quyluee; Camoens Quiloa (= Kwĭŏa, i. 54; x. 26) and moderns Kilwá.[1] Duarte (Barbosa, p. 11) makes it a kind of Coast-capital, the chief comptoir of "Çofala," Zuama (Zambeze), Anguox (Angosha Island) and Mozambique. Correa (Part ii. chap. 4) assures us that its ruler "did not possess more country than the city itself." The "Queen of the North," was Makdishu or Magadoxo, a "large and beautiful town" (Barbosa, p. 16), dating from A.D. 909–950. The foundation of Kilwá by the Arabs is popularly assigned to A.D. 960–1000; but the settlements may have existed in the time of the Periplus. Ibn Batutah (Lee, 75) tells us that the people of "Kulwá" were Zunúj or Zanzibarian negroids,—Wásawahili.[2]

I have elsewhere shown that "Kilwá" (S. Lat. 9°) applies to a district, not to a single place. A little north of the Island (Kilwá Kisiwáni), whose ruins, including the Portuguese "Gurayza" (Fort), have some pretensions, there are five wretched villages scattered along the bay-shore. Correa (Da Gama's second voyage) describes it at some length. The Island was separated from the coast by a channel only knee-deep. The town, which ran down to the beach, had narrow streets, and was entirely surrounded by a wall and towers. The

[1] Quillinan here beats us all in cacophony :—

Quilóa, Sófala, Mombassa most.

[2] "Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast" (vol. ii. chap. 11).

houses were of stone and mortar (corallines) with much wood-work (mangrove-rafters): many had three and four stories; and a man could pass from one terrace-roof to another. The population, all Moslems, numbered about 12,000, the report of "half-Moors half-Christians" was probably a snare; the latter, however, might have been represented by Hindú Banyans. Some of the women were beautiful; and made as free with the strangers as the fair Kábulís in 1840. The gardens and orchards of the fertile and well-wooded mainland produced sugar-cane, figs (bananas), and pomegranates; citrons, limes, and the "sweetest oranges yet seen." Sheep were plentiful, and "have their fat in the tail, which is almost the size of the body." When tribute was demanded of the Shaykh, he replied with spirit:—"'Tis better to be a jackal at large than a greyhound in a golden leash." Whereto Da Gama as sagaciously rejoined:—"There's no Moor will be on good terms with you until you do him harm." Both spoke truth.

The Commodore and Captains, finding that Quiloa had been left leagues astern, resolved to make Mombasah, distant four days. During the preceding night they had seen, to the north, a large island, which contained, said the pilots, one town of Christians and another of Moors,—probably Mafiyah (Momfia). Thurs., April 5.

Da Gama was now abreast of the Great Rufiji or Lufiji River, the only important stream on this part of the coast. It is not mentioned by the Ruttier; but Camoens

calls it (x. 96) *O Rapto rio*, which his translators render literally "Rapto River." The word is Ῥαπτός (potamos): there is also a Rhapta (metropolis) of Barbaria, and a Point Rhapton (Akron). It alludes to the Ploia rhapta ("sewn" craft), whose planks were, and still are, fastened by coir-cords passed through holes: so the Roteiro says (p. 28): "The boats are large and built without nails," thus distinguishing them from the almadias, monoxyla or dug-outs.

Ptolemy (iv. 7) places the town and river-mouth in S. Lat. 7°, and the Promontory in 8° 25′, or 215 miles (3° 35′) *north* of his Menuthias: according to the pilot Dioscorus (Ptol. i. 9), from Rhapta to Prasum are 5,000 stadia (furlongs), of 500–600 to the degree. The words of the Periplus, which ignores the river and the port, are:—"From which island (Menouthesias), after two runs, lies the last continental emporium of Azanía called 'The Rhapta.'" The two days' runs, not including nights, each of sixty knots, would end at the Rufiji, whose Delta is in S. Lat. 7°–8°. Vincent identifies Rhapta with Kilwá (1°–2° farther south); but the latter has no river. Others prefer Point Pounah, the southern cusp of the Zanzibar coast-crescent; but this place again lacks both stream and port.

Two hours before morning the Sam Rafael grounded on a shoal, and got off with the high tide. Hence the place was called Sam Rafael; and the same name was given to the fine coast-range, a section of the East African Ghâts, the last spurs of

Fri., April 6.

the Usumbara block. Properly termed the Bondei or Mbondei Mountains, they run north to south from S. Lat. 4° 30′ to 5° 30′; and rise to a maximum height of 5,000 feet. The Three-peak hill, called by the Portuguese *Corôa-de-Mombaça*, and by the native Shimba or Mbringa, numbers about 3,000.

From these Syrtes two "Moors" accompanied the Armada to Mombasah. It is supposed that Da Gama, when outward bound, ran east of Zanzibar Island; and, when returning home, passed down the channel which separates it from the Continent. The Roteiro apparently confirms this notion, by mentioning "Jamjiber" only at the end (p. 105). No record is made of foul weather, and the ships probably escaped the "April storm," now dreaded on the Zanzibar seas.

Coasting northwards in the morning, they saw some islands; one, six leagues long, lay fifteen leagues out to sea, and was covered with "trees whereof masts are made." This Ilha das Arvores was probably Pemba, the "green island" of the Arabs, and the "Penda" of Barbosa (p. 14); a coralline block, twenty-three miles north-east of Zanzibar, and seventeen to twenty-five from the coast. Its people are Wapemba, ancient owners of the ground.[1] Sat., April 7 (Vespers of Palm Sun.).

In the evening the squadron anchored off Mombasah: many of the men were still scurvy-sick, but all rejoiced

[1] I have described the capital, Chak-Chak or Chaki-Chaki, in "Zanzibar," etc., ii. chap. 1.

at the idea of seeing Christian peoples. They were visited by a Zabra[1] of 200 tons; and at midnight came a second carrying a hundred natives armed with shields and *terçados* (short swords). None were admitted on board.

This seems the place to notice the "Christians" of whom the Roteiro so often speaks. It evidently confuses the Catholic rite with Hindú pagan-worship, little caring (though unsuspicious of "adumbration") what conclusions may be drawn from the likeness. There were, however, bonâ fide Christians in East Africa as well as in India. I have given my reasons for believing that in past ages the Gallas, who extended to near Cape Guardafui, were Christians.[2] At Mozambique the explorers found "Christian prisoners," probably Abyssinians (Barros, i. 1, 298): when they landed at Mombasah two Christian merchants showed them a "picture of the Holy Ghost."[3] At Melinde their salutations were returned by Indian Christians, who came in four ships; and who spoke a little *Arravía* (Arabic). They adored a retable with Christian subjects; and, as the Portuguese passed, they cried "Christi! Christi!" which might have been "Krishna." They did not eat beef, which looks as

[1] The Tava of Nikitin (p. 8), our Dow or Dau.

[2] "First Footsteps in East Africa," chap. iv., etc.

[3] It might have been a figure of Kapot-eshwar or Kapotesi, the Hindú Pigeon-god and goddess; incarnations of Shiva and his wife, the third Person of the Hindu Triad noticed in my "Pilgrimage," iii. 218.

if they were Banyans: many Christians in India, however, have humoured native superstition by avoiding rump-steak and pork-chop: even the Delhi Emperor, Násir el-Dín forbade oxen to be slaughtered, "which is one of the regulations of the infidel Hindús." But they also advised the Commodore neither to land nor to trust the Melinde people, showing some sympathy with "Master's caste." Socotra, when visited in 1507, was mostly Christian, ruled by Arabs from Hadramaut.

In Southern India the Churches of Western Asia had planted many colonies which the Portuguese called "Christians of Sam Thomé" (Osorio de R. Em., i. 9). Of these some 30,000 submitted themselves to Da Gama at Cranganor. Varthema found them at Kayan-Kulam, and briefly notices their ritual differences from the Church of Rome: he also notices, at Siamese "Sarnau," Christians who wrote from right to left, suggesting Syrian Nestorians. Abd el-Razzák (A.D. 1442) met, to his cost, one at them, "Nimeh-pezin," in office at Bijánagar. Barbosa (p. 162) calls the Malabar Christians "Armenians." They are now divided into two sects.[1] The first is the Syro-Jacobite or Monophysite, who borrowed a name from Jacob Baraddæus: their bishops, titled Már[2] (Athanasius, etc.), are subject to the Patriarch of

[1] The learned note to Varthema (pp. 181–2) exhausts the subject.

[2] Már (Lord) is not only a Christian title: it occurs in Maribas (Mar-Ibas or Mar-Abas), a Syrian writer of the second century B.C.; and in other instances.

Mardin in Mesopotamia, and they have coreligionists at Damascus, Hums, and Hamah. The others are Nestorians, originally under the "Patriarch of Babylon" (the Chaldæan of Mosul); and in Mesopotamia they term themselves Eski Kaldáni (old Chaldæans). They were united with Rome by the Portuguese;[1] but they preserved the Syrian ritual, and they have of late years resumed with the Patriarch relations which had been long and completely broken off.

European intolerance and ferocity soon diminished the numbers of the unfortunate "Christians of St. Thomas." It is a curious consideration that, despite missioner, missionary, and millions of rupees, there were probably more Indo-Christians in the fourteenth than in the nineteenth century.

That the Banyans, or Hindu traders, were also mistaken for Christians, we have ample proof; and Camoens (i. 77) deftly adopted the delusion as a snare of the Evil One. At Calicut Da Gama and his escort unwittingly worshipped in a palpable pagoda (Roteiro, 56–7): they were surprised to see "Saints with four and five arms," but were reassured when shown the Holy Virgin. The latter was evidently Gauri, the white goddess, Sakti of Shiva the Destroyer. Da Gama (ibid. 70) affirms to the Hindu regent that both were "Christians"; and the Samiry Prince humours the delusion (Rot. Aug. 23). We are naïvely told (p. 96):—"The Christians of the

[1] In 1599 the Archbishop of Goa, Alexandro de Menezes, held a conference for this purpose at Kulam.

land of India call God Tambaram"; Tambaran among the Nayr being a title, lord or master.[1]

Finally, in the Roteiro's notices of various kingdoms (108–113) not only Cranganor, Coulam, and Coromandel are Christian, but also Siam, Malacca, Pegu, and Timor. Even the well-educated and intelligent Varthema believed that there were a thousand Christians in the army of Pegu. They were probably Buddhists, who held to the "three Precious Ones," Buddha, Dharma (the law), and Sanga (the clergy and congregation). This Triad became in "Varthema" (p. 217), "God, his precepts and his priests." In page 108 the explorer seems to describe Buddhists as "neither Moors nor heathens."[2] Ramusio also informs us, "All the country of Malabar believes in the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and this beginning at Cambay and ending at Bengal." Evidently we must here read the Hindu Triad, Bramhá, Vishnu, and Shiva. Indians, like other

[1] Varthema, an Italian, writes Tamerani (p. 137); and in page 145 he translates Tamarani, "by God!" He calls the "Devil" Deumo (from Deva), and finds the king's chapel full of devils, one of them "wearing a crown made like that of the Papal kingdom with three crowns." Barbosa (i. 53) boldly declares "there is no great difference between them (Brahmans) and us": he judges from the songs and instruments, bells and lights, and the existence of a Triad.

[2] The more one studies Buddhism the more convinced one becomes that it owes much of its present constitution to the Christianity of Western Asia, which has converted the baldest atheism to a manner of theism. What would Gotama or Buddha have said of Adi-buddhá? I shall return to this subject in § 4.

polytheists, have little bigotry, and no faith in conversion. The fisherman at Angediva (Rot. Sept. 15) are ready to "profess" (an evident pretence); and even "respectable men" would call themselves "Christians," simply to please, cajole, or cheat the strangers.

April 8 (Palm Sun.). The "King" of Mombasah sent a present of provisions and a ring, in token of safe-conduct, by two white men, who declared themselves Christians, and were not credited. The Commodore replied that he would enter port next day: meanwhile he despatched a couple of his convicts (?) to inspect the town, keeping four honourable Moors as hostages on board the flagship. It was a wise act, which we often unwisely neglect.[1] The Portuguese went to the Palace, and passed through four gates, noting that each had its porter with drawn dagger.

Tues., April 10. As the Squadron entered, the leading ship (Da Gama's) would not veer, or rather backed, and the anchors were cast to keep off a shoal. Startled by the noise and confusion, the Moslems clambered into a Zabra towing astern, while the Mozambique pilots threw themselves into the sea. At night the Commodore "questioned"[2] a pair of Moors,

[1] Amongst Easterns these pledges are always given and exchanged: and the precaution secures safety till the people learn that philanthropy forbids the securities being hanged. Had this simple precaution been taken by Cavagnari, the second Cabul disaster (1879) would have been spared.

[2] The original is *pingou*, meaning to drop liquid resin, boiling oil,

who confessed a plot intended to revenge the affair of Mozambique. At midnight two canoes began to cut the moorings of the Berrio and the Sam Rafael: they fled when the alarm was given. Such and similar "villainies of these dogs" (*estes perros*)[1] induced Da Gama to shorten his halt: the sick enjoyed it, "for this land has very good air." It is now bad and feverish. The Roteiro makes the fleet stay three days (April 8–10): Correa gives five (April 21–26); and others thirteen—the latter a highly improbable figure.

Camoens has produced a perfect outline-sketch of Mombasah in a single stanza (i. 103): Mickle spoils it by adding a "river which empties itself into the sea by two mouths."[2] The town, that took its name from Mombasah in Oman, is described in the Roteiro as a large city on a cliff beaten by the sea. Barbosa compares the streets and fine houses with those of "Quiloa." There was a Padram (landmark) at the mouth of the harbour into which many ships sailed

or molten metal upon the naked skin. Of course it makes men tell all they know, and, in nervous cases, a trifle more.

[1] "Those Mussulman dogs," says (p. 11) the Lord's "sinful servant, Athanasius, son of Nikita."

[2] I had immense trouble in abolishing this "Tuaca" or "Nash" river in the teeth of my late friend and collaborateur, James M'Queen (Geographical Survey of Africa, London, Fellows, 1840). Another and similar nuisance which I abated was the "Quavi or River of Kilwa," receiving much bedevilment at the hands of that obstinate self-believer, Mr. Cooley. Both "rivers" are fine specimens of the paper streams, like the Brazilian Rio de Janeiro: they would have changed the face of the country had they existed.

every day. A low-lying Arab fort near the water-edge was afterwards armed with seven to eight cannon, fished up by divers from the wreck of Sancho de Toar, or Thoar, a captain under Pedr' Alvares Cabral. With these the city valiantly defended herself against the first Viceroy, Almeida, who in 1505 did great damage (Barros, i. 8, 7). The Portuguese, after permanently occupying the town, built the "Gurayza" (fortress), which still adorns the sea-front.[1] "Mvita" (war), as the natives call the city, has a turbulent little history of its own: it has thrice become English, and its wild days are not done. In A.D. 1698 it was annexed by the Imám (*antistes*) of Oman, Sayf bin Sultan, after the citizens had massacred the Portuguese to a man.

The squadron proceeded eight leagues; and next morning chased two craft (ii. 68). One escaped: the other carrying an "honourable Moor" and his young wife, with a crew of seventeen, was taken to supply pilots. The ships passed certain maritime villages called "Benapa, Toça (Tosah), and Nuguo-quionete"—the latter may be Point Mkonu-gnombe. On Easter Sunday, one of the few dates specified by Camoens (ii. 72), Da Gama, after covering thirty leagues from Mombasah, anchored off Melinde, which, as the Poet

Thurs., April 11.

Easter Sun., April 15.

[1] I sketched the Fort, and described the town in "Zanzibar," etc., vol. ii. chap. 2. Much information is found in Capt. Owen's and Comm. Boteler's volumes; and in Capitaine Guillain (chap. xxxiii. tome deuxième).

says (ii. 63), is nearer the line, S. Lat. 3° 9′. The Ruttier compares (p. 49) Mifendy, Milynde or Milingui, with Alcouchete in Portugal. The town lined the shore of a fine bay; and the houses were of several stories pierced with many windows. Landwards lay a large palm-orchard, broken by plantations of cereals and vegetables. Camoens does not describe the place which was a copy of Mombasah, enriched by commerce with Cambay. Early in the present century the ferocious Gallas made it inaccessible to Europeans;[1] and the neighbouring natives describe it as a tract of stone-heaps overgrown with trees.

As no one would come on board, the Commodore sent a messenger to the "King" by the honourable Moor, who was boated to a shoal and carried across by a canoe. Presently he returned in a Zabra, accompanied by a "Knight" and a Sheríf: they brought a present, with a friendly message, and the promise of a pilot. Next day the ships warped inshore: the "King" sent another gift, and proposed to meet Da Gama on the sea; the former in a Zabra, the latter in one of his boats. Easter Mon., April 16.

After dinner (noon) a meeting took place with exchange of offerings: those of Melinde are catalogued by the Roteiro (45–6). It also mentions the trumpets and "horns of ivory," the size of a man with a blow-hole in the middle: such Wednes., April 18.

[1] The late Capt. Speke and I failed to reach it in 1856-7.

instruments are still used on the coast. The Commodore refused to land, protesting royal orders (ii. 83): this was the first of those silly, shallow untruths which are so useless and harmful with "Orientals." The Melindans, who knew that Da Gama had landed elsewhere, would look upon him as a trickster, much like themselves, only far less skilful. He had been imprudent in disembarking before, and now he seems to have run into the other extreme.

On his side the Moslem would not visit the ships for fear of what his people might think. The interview in boats was friendly: the Shaykh asked the name of the Portuguese king (ii. 109), which he caused a Scribe to write; and promised either a letter or a mission to Portugal. When Da Gama released the captives, he declared that the favour was dearer to him than the gift of a town. He rowed round the Squadron, and for some three hours enjoyed artillery-practice (ii. 90). At last he left on board one of his sons and a Sherif as hostages; promising, if the ships would draw nearer ashore, that they should see the usual horse-sports and "powder-play" (La 'ab el-Bárút).

Tues., April 19. The Commodore and Nicoláo Coelho enjoyed the Eastern Champ de Mars from boats armed with stern-chasers. The "King" vainly begged them to land, as his bed-ridden father wished to see them; and offered, while the visit lasted, to remain with his sons among the strangers. Da Gama, however, besides being warned against the

people, did not find everything run as smoothly at Melinde as in the pages of The Lusiads.

The Zabra brought on board a *fidalgo* related to the ruler: he was at once seized and detained till the promised (Christian?) pilot was sent. The Roteiro does not name the latter, but Barros calls him Malemo (loadsman) Cana or Canaca. "Káná" would mean a Monocular; "Kanaka" is the name of a caste: some again make him a Gujaráti, others a negro or negroid. Sun., April 22.

After a pleasant rest of nine days (vi. 3–5), which Correa increases to three months, the navigators set out for "Qualecut"; and, on the ensuing Sunday, they again hailed the Polar Star. The wind was mostly fair, the season being the N. East Monsoon, during the twenty-three days of middle passage, which was computed to measure 600 leagues. The Roteiro, however, speaks (p. 50) of rains and tornadoes. One of the latter, evidently the burst of the S. West Monsoon,[1] became in The Lusiads (vi. 70–84) the magnificent storm which, ending with a sight of Love's Planet sparkling over the mountains of Western India, is described with perfect art, and forms one of its poetic gems. Tues., April 24.

[1] Usually the monsoon breaks in early June, but the seasons are uncertain. In the Commentaries (vol. ii. chap. 26) we find that "the winter commences in the beginning of April," and on May 17th "a great and stormy sea was running" (chap. 32). We must remember the difference of eleven days in O.S.

The Squadron sighted high land[1] (vi. 92) on Friday, May 17, and at a distance of eight leagues the lead showed forty-five fathoms. This done, they ran down coast to the S.S. East.

The Pilot recognised the Western Ghâts about their destination. In the evening they anchored a league and a half off-shore; and were visited by four boats to find out what they were. The roads lay south of "Capua, which was Calicut." The former is Kappakkátta, the Capogatto of Varthema (p. 133), a seaport containing a "very beautiful palace, built in the ancient style," and distant four leagues from Calicut: Barbosa (p. 152) calls it Capocad, and places the town two leagues north of the capital, while others transfer it to the South. Near it stood another port-settlement, Pandarani (Pandarany, Pandarrany, or Pandarim): this may be the Fandaraina which Ibn Batutah locates north of the main harbour. "Pandarani" in Varthema (p. 133) is one day from Tormapatani, the Dormapatan of Hamilton, near the Tellichery River, twelve miles from Cananor:[2] in Barbosa (p. 152) Pan-

Sun., May 19.

[1] This was the striking Mount Dilli (Delli, etc.), so called, because the wild Cardamon (Elá, Hilá, or Eláichi) was found there: Barbosa (p. 151) erroneously derives *Hely* from Ginger. It lies sixteen miles north of our well-known station, Cananor; and the little bay which it protects used, in the sixteenth century, to receive ships from Arabia, Hormuz, Persia, and all parts of India. For plan and sketch see Col. Yule's "Marco Polo," vol. ii.

[2] Mr. Badger suggests that Varthema's "Tormapatani" may be

dareni is a Moorish place N.N. West of Kappakkátta; and the "River of Tarnapatani" lies South of Cananor.

Thus, in the Roteiro, the outward bound vogage occupied ten months and elèven days (July 8, 1497—May 19, 1498). The date of arrival, generally accepted by Robertson and other annalists, is May 22. Correa makes Da Gama leave Melinde on Aug. 6; and reach land at Cananor (not Calicut) on Aug. 26. But, had the Armada sailed at this season, it would not only have been in the full blast of the S.-west Monsoon when native craft never travel; it would also be approaching the "Elephanta Storm," the dangerous breaking up of the rainy season.

HALT AT CALICUT.

Two Convicts, sent ashore, met as many Tunisians who saluted them in Spanish and Italian (*Janues*) with unepic language: *Al diabro que te doo: quem te traxo aquà.* ("Go to the Devil, where I send thee! who brought thee here?") After giving the strangers bread and honey, one "Moor" accompanied them on board. This is certainly the "Monçaide" of Barros and Camoens, a Mon., May 20.

the Jarafattan, or Badafattan of Ibn Batutah, between Hílí (Ulala) and Kalikut (Calicut).

corruption of El-Mas'úd (the "happy" or made happy), the mincing "Mes'ood" of Egyptian Lane. Correa calls him "Taibo," and Castanheda "Bomtaïbo" (good-good), from two favourite exclamations, the Portuguese "bom"; and its Arabic equivalent "tayyib." The former states that he was a Christian, who, made prisoner in childhood, had taken a Moslem name, and had become "as a Moor among the Moors." Osorio calls him a Tunisian Mohammedan, who had been chief contractor for military stores under Dom Fernando. Thus he like Camoens (ix. 15) represents "Felix" as a traitor to his people, who ends with being a pestilent renegade, and with meriting Paradise.

The Camorim (Samorim), a "King" who commanded an army of 100,000 to 200,000 men, being in the inland town, fifteen leagues from the sea-town; or at Ponani, according to Philip Baldæus (Beschrijving, Amsterdam, 1672), two men were sent to him with a message. He replied that he would at once return to Calicut, and meanwhile furnish a pilot to show the safer anchorage of "Pandarani." Reaching this roadstead, the "Bale,"[1] with 200 men, offered to escort Da Gama to the Rajah, but the hour was too late.

[1] Also spelt Baile, Baille, and Bayle, the Arab. Wálí (a governor). In Correa he becomes the Gozil (Wazir or Vizier, whence the Spanish Alguazil), and in Camoens the Catual (Kotwál). In chap. v., note to Canto vii. 44, I explain the latter, whom Barbosa (p. 120) calls "Coytoro tical Carnaver," and Nikitin (p. 15) *Kutovalovies* (plur.).

On Monday, May 28th, Da Gama left Pandarani in state, with an escort of twelve to thirteen marines. He was carried in a palanquin to Calicut, and thence to "Capua": here he and his embarked in two boats, and went a league up the river where large and small vessels were beached. The Commodore again entered his litter, and was conducted through swarming crowds to a "church." It must have been a quaint scene, Christians innocently praying with a crash of gongs (Campāas, p. 56, not bells) to the hideous idols of a Hindu Pagoda. Varthema, who describes the temple, relates that one sailor, Juan de Sala, having some qualms of conscience, said, when kneeling, "If this be the Devil, I worship God!" whereat Da Gama smiled. Here Correa tells the (sham) prophecy, so cleverly used by Camoens (vii. 56), that India would be conquered by a King of the Whites who dwelt afar off. The "Quafees" (priests), who wore the Brahminical thread, and refused admittance to the Adytum, sprinkled the strangers with an aspergillus (?), dipped in "holy water" (Ganges?); and gave them the "white clay" (sandalwood-paste?), "which Christians in these lands apply to their foreheads."

The Portuguese then entered the palace, and had audience with the Rajah, who is carefully described (p. 59).[1] He was eating *uvas* (grapes), for which read areca[2]

[1] For the dress of the Samiry Rajah, whom Abd el-Razzak calls Sameri, and whom he found almost naked, see "Varthema" (Hakluyt, p. 156).

[2] Varthema (p. 110) calls the betel-nut Chofole, Coffolo and

or betel-nut; and chewing the atambor (*piper betel*) supplied to him by a kinsman, a gold *pote* (spittoon) being in readiness. Before any one spoke the attendant held his hand in front of the royal mouth. The melon-like fruit was a "jack" (*Artocarpus integrifolia*)[1] and the "figs," as shown by the leaf-platters, were bananas: Linnæus seems to have borrowed his Musa Paradisaica from the Arab Mauz (plantain), and from Marco Polo's "apples of Paradise." The palm-frond used for writing is the Talipot.

Da Gama delivered his message, and the private audience lasted till the fourth hour after nightfall. The mission was then turned out, in a storm of rain, by the hospitable Hindú; and, after being "entertained" by a "Moor," had much trouble to regain its quarters at Pandarani. The Commodore refused to mount an unsaddled horse: the offer seems to have been one of those childish slights of which Easterns are so prodigal, and for which they are made, sooner or later, to pay so dear a price.

Arecha (p. 144): the two former are corruptions of the Arab. Fauful: the Hindostani name is Supári. Atambor (Varthema's Tambuli) is the Arab. Tambúl, popularly known as "Pán," *the* leaf. The Italian traveller does not forget the Cionama (= Chunam), or lime, used to heighten the flavour. Barbosa (p. 73) also notices "Pan-supári" at full length.

[1] It is the Malabar "Tsjaka," or "Taca." Ibn Batutah (Lee, 105) makes two kinds grow upon the same tree, El-Sharhi above and El-Barhi below; probably a confusion with the Dorian. Varthema (p. 159) calls it Ciccara.

The Portuguese presents were shown to the "Bale," the Royal Factor, and some chief Moors, who laughed them to scorn[1] (ix. 62, 68). Tues., May 29. Da Gama, seized with *menencoria* (melancholy), wished to return on board, or to have audience with the Rajah. The officers promised as they always do; but they kept him waiting all day, which filled him with wrath. Their object was probably to test the temper of the strangers; possibly to make them compromise themselves by some act of violence.

Da Gama was delayed four hours at the Palace-gate; and at last admitted with only two followers, Fernam Martins and Diogo Dias,—another slight. Wednes., May 30. After an unpleasant audience, doubtless caused by disappointment with the presents, the two letters were delivered, one in Portuguese and the other in *Mourisco* (Maroccan Arabic). The latter, translated by four Moors, pleased the Samorim, who bade Da Gama go on board, and send his vendible goods ashore. It being late, nothing more was done that day.

"A rich merchant called Guzerate" (i.e. a Gujarát trader), after offering a saddleless horse, made ready a palanquin for the Commo- Thurs., May 31.

[1] The popular idea that the gift-horse's mouth should not be looked into leads to many mistakes. When sent on a mission to the King of Dahome I was provided with certain presents amongst others at which my black servants would have "turned up their noses" ("Mission," etc., vol. i. chap. xii.).

dore. Setting out for Pandarani, Da Gama lost his escort, who presently found him sitting with the "Bale" under an *estaoo* (open shed). No boats would ply at night and three Portuguese were missing: the rest supped on "Pilaff" (rice and fowl) which the Captain bought; and slept at a Moor's house.

Fri., June 1. "The "Bale" of Calicut shut the gates, and refused boats unless the ships were brought inside port: he also demanded, as was the custom with strangers, the sails and rudders. Feeling themselves in prison, the party became *muito tristes* (very sad). One of the three lost marines appeared and reported that Coelho waited for them every night, with his boats, near the beach: the Commodore stoutheartedly sent them back to the Squadron for fear of seizure. After a day of "agony," the strangers were placed in a tiled court under a guard of a hundred men armed with swords and *bisarmas*.[1]

Sat., June 2. The Commodore, consenting to send some of the merchandise ashore, was allowed to embark, leaving two Factors (viii. 94). All "gave thanks to our Lord for deliverance from men, whose understanding was that of brute beasts." The Indians doubtless said the same of the strangers; and this is generally the judgment when men do not understand

[1] Guisarmes or two-edged battle-axes (Spelman and Ducange, s. v.); Demmin (p. 430) makes the Gisarme a kind of bill armed with hooks, and older than the "Guisards," who are popularly supposed to have named it. The weapon is still used in China.

one another's tongues. Five days afterwards Da Gama reported his ill-treatment to the Rajah, who had doubtless ordered it: the reply was that those who had so behaved were "bad Christians and should be punished," —in fact the Hindú treated the European like a child. The goods remained on sale for some eight days without finding buyers (ix. 1). The Moors trading with "Meca" insultingly spat on the ground, saying, "Portugal! Portugal!" and declared that the navigators were pirates. Marco Polo notes that in Malabar the testimony of one who sails by sea is not admissible, because such men are regarded as mere desperadoes. The Chinese Mandarins had the same horror of ships "which went about the world seeking other ships in order to take them."

The goods were disembarked and the crews were allowed, under certain conditions, to land and see the City. They bought, at high prices, gems, cloves, cinnamon, and especially provisions. Da Gama sent Diogo Dias and another man with a present and a message to the Rajah: the latter, after a delay of four days, rejected both; forbade his lieges by crier to board the ships, and dismissed the Squadron. The Factors, finding themselves prisoners (ix. 1), bribed a fisherman to carry a report of their case to the Commodore. The ill-feeling of the Samorim and his people, who had resolved to destroy the navigator, was announced by a "Moor of the Land" (Moplah or Mappila) and two Christians.

Sun., June 24 (St. John).

A boat put off with four youths pretending to sell precious stones. It was suspected that they were sent by the Moors to be detained; so they were landed with a letter to the Factors. Next Sunday (Aug. 19) some twenty-five merchants visiting the Armada, Da Gama arrested nineteen, including "six honourable men" (Nayr), and dismissed the rest with a letter to the Royal Factor demanding his two Portuguese.

Tues., Aug. 14.

The Armada weighed anchor and sailed four leagues from Calicut, but was driven back by head-winds. Next Saturday she put out almost beyond sight of land. As she awaited the sea breeze on Sunday, a barque brought a message that Diogo Dias had been summoned by the Rajah, who threw all the blame upon his own Factor; offered to set up the Padram; caused him to write on a palm-leaf a letter to his King, and formally invited him to remain at Calicut with the merchandise. Da Gama, suspecting that his people had been murdered, and understanding that he was being detained till the coming of the "Meca ships" (ix. 4), threatened, unless his Factors were returned, to behead the hostages and bombard the town. As has been seen, Mickle carries out the threat to the stultification of Camoens and all history.

Wednes., Aug. 23 (22 ?).

Seven boats put off from shore, bringing the Factors but not the goods. The Padram (de Sam Gabriel) was committed to six honourable

Mon., Aug. 27.

men, who were set free, the others being detained as hostages for the merchandise.

The "Tunis Moor" (Monçaide) begged leave to accompany the Fleet, fearing for his life. Seven boats came, three laden with *Alanbés*, striped cottons still much used in the African trade. They declared these to be the only remaining goods; and tried another fox-trick (*rraposía*), proposing that both hostages and merchandise should be placed in the same boat, and each party take its own. Da Gama replied that he wanted only his men; and that he would soon return and show Calicut that he was no Pirate. Tues., Aug. 28.

The Commodore had made the common European mistake of finessing with the natives. He had some right to call himself an Ambassador (Correa, p. 149); none to state that he had been separated from another and a larger fleet (p. 168), nor that the voyage had lasted two years (ibid.). These transparent falsehoods lowered him in the eyes of the people, who would look upon him as a spy with a spice of the Corsair.

The Roteiro computes the halt off Calicut at ninety-six days (May 19–Aug. 23): Barros reduces it to seventy-four, and Correa to "about seventy," placing the departure in November, the day not specified. But, as will be seen, the Fleet did not leave the Western Indian Coast till Oct. 5; and thus her stay in those waters covered a total of 141 days (May 17–Oct. 5).

The log-book (pp. 88–9) shows a fair knowledge of

the Indian, which was chiefly the spice, trade; and this, I repeat, gave rise to the voyages of Columbus and Cabot, of Da Gama and Magellan. Spice was of paramount importance, even in the days of the Romans, who used it for funerals; and it figured largely in the classical and mediæval pharmacopœias. Pliny (xii. 14) laments that pepper and ginger, growing wild in their own country, were bought by weight "as if they were so much gold and silver." It is generally held that the East India Company, which produced the Anglo-Indian Empire, was formed (1599) because the Hollanders had raised the price of black pepper from three to six shillings per lb. Gems and condiments from Çillam (Ceylon, eight days' sail) and Melequa (Malacca, forty days) were carried to the "Island of Judéa" (Jeddah-port, fifty days) by large ships. Here, after paying duty to the "grand Soldán" (of Egypt), the goods were transhipped to coasting craft, and made Suez viâ *Tuuz* (Tor-harbour), near *Sancta Caterina de Monte Synay.* A second payment enabled them to be laden on camels, each hired for four cruzados: the march to *Quayro* (Cairo) was only four days, but caravans were often plundered by *Alarves* (Bedawin). Dues being taken a third time, the freight was boated down Nile to a "place called *Roxete*" (Rosetta, El-Rashid), and to Damietta (El-Dimayát, whence our "dimity"). Here the merchandise paid its fourth tax, and was transported by camels to Alexandria for shipment on board the galleys of Genoa and Venice. The Soldan derived from the Spice-trade

600,000 cruzados per annum, of which 100,000 were assigned to a "King called *Cidadym*,"[1] for defence against "Prester John."

VOYAGE HOME.

CAMOENS omits every detail of the return home, in order to give prominence to his glorious Episode, the "Isle of Love" (Cantos ix. and x.). All we gather is (x. 143–4) that the voyage was made under the most favourable conditions. But this is poetry, not history: the Roteiro, Castanheda, and Barros tell another story.

A Council of Captains having resolved to set out with their captives, the Armada sailed one league from Calicut. She was pursued by some seventy craft, which Barros calls Tónes; each carrying a pavoise (large shield) of leather faced with red cloth to defend the fighting men. A few shots stopped the advance, but the flotilla followed for an hour and a half till dispersed by a tornado (*trovoada*),[2] Thurs., Aug. 30.

[1] Probably a corruption of Sikandar (Alexander): it is the "Cadandin, a Moorish Captain" of the Commentaries. Barros tells us that Sikandar was also the popular name of the Negush or Prester John (i. 1, 196).

[2] The "tornado" proper is an African rather than an Indian meteor. It always blows off shore; lasts for a short time, rarely

which carried the Portuguese seawards. It was, I have said, the season of storms.

The Armada headed northwards in calm weather, tacking with the land and sea breezes. A Mon., Sept. 10. prisoner was put ashore with a letter to the Samorim written by another Moor. The country was called *Compia* (Cananor) and *Biaquolle* (Baticalá, Sadashivgarh), whose "King" was at Calicut.

The Padram of Santa Maria was erected upon an island (St. Mary) about two leagues off Sat., Sept. 15. shore. It is one of the three rocks called the Mulpi or Mulki, opposite Udipi. The fisher people rejoiced to see the strangers, who at night resumed the voyage northwards.

Six islets were sighted lying near a high and gracious land, the Southern Concan. These were Thurs., Sept. 19. the Sesekreienai ("black rabbits") of the Greeks, so named from their crouching appearance; the *Ilhéus queimados* (burnt Islands) of the Portuguese; and our Vingorla Rocks.[1] They number upwards of twenty, some six or seven being about the size of the Sirens' Islands in the Salernitan Gulf. Here is found the swallows' edible nest, which is unknown in other parts of Western India. A boat was put off for wood and water, and a fine stream was pointed out by a fisherman, who declared himself to be a Christian.

exceeding half an hour; and is quite capable of capsizing a ship, as happened to H.M.'s brig *Heron*.

[1] Noticed in "Goa and the Blue Mountains," p. 14.

Four men brought fruit for sale in a canoe and offered to show cinnamon (Barbosa, 220); two sailors who were landed found a forest of the Cassia and cut boughs as specimens. On shore they met a score of men who promised to supply provaunt. Fri., Sept. 20.

Da Gama recalled his boats, as two barques were descried about a couple of leagues off, and eight were visible from the mast-head. When fired upon they ran ashore: one was boarded, but it contained nothing save arms and edibles. Next day seven fishermen came in a canoe and declared that the flotilla, sent from Calicut to destroy the strangers, was part of the Squadron of Timoja, the pirate Rajah of Cintacora, who had been employed by the King of Gairsoppa or Gorseppa.[1] Sat., Sept. 21.

Coelho, landing on an Island for water, found in it a tank of cut stone, evidently the work of some Hindú. Near it were the ruins of a masonry-built "Church" destroyed by the Moors, except a thatched chapel sheltering three black stones. Even this palpable evidence of Paganism did not open their dull eyes. The Island, 50 miles S. East of modern Goa, was Angediva, Varthema's Ankediva, supposed to be the classic Ægidiorum insula, and the Angedib of the eighteenth century. Camoens does not mention it, but this pest-hole absurdly shares with Mon., Sept. 23.

[1] These coast places are described in § 3. Timoja was a man of low caste, raised by the Portuguese to high command.

beautiful Zanzibar the honour of having suggested the "Isle of Love" (Cantos ix. and x.). The usual derivation is Panchadwipa[1] (five islets); others prefer Ájya-dwipa (of ghi, or clarified butter), alluding to the Sacrifice of Parasu Ráma; and Ája-dwipa, Island of Ájá, Máyá (illusion) or Prakriti, visible nature. The Hindú temple was destroyed by the Moslems about A.D. 1312; and the priests and people fled to the mainland. Angediva is connected with early Anglo-Indian history. In September, 1622, when Bombay-Island, rented by G. de Orta, was ceded by Portugal, some 500 English soldiers were here landed under Sir Abraham Shipman. The swampy, pestilential climate, mentioned by Varthema (p. 120), killed the Commander, and spared only two officers and 190 men to carry out their task. During the last century Angediva served as a kind of Botany Bay for Goa, Damam and Diu.[2]

Whilst the Portuguese were careening the Flagship and the "Berrio," two *fustas* (foysts) followed by five along shore, made for them, rowing to music and flying flags at the topmasts. The fishermen gave warning

[1] The Sanscrit Dwípa, an island, a peninsula, enters largely into composition as Jambu-dwipa (India, the land of the Rose-apple); and, corrupted to Dive, appears as Mal-dives, Lacca-dives, etc. My friend, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, of Bombay, has treated of Angediva in his learned paper, read before the R. Asiat. Soc. of Bombay, Aug. 14, 1875.

[2] This explains the difficulty which the translator of the Commentaries finds in identifying "Anjadiva" (vol. ii. chap. xxxv.). Yet in p. 169 he himself quotes it "Amgediua."

that they were sea-thieves. When cannonaded they cried "Tambaram," and declared themselves Christians; but, as the guns still played, they ran ashore, pursued by Coelho till recalled. The Armada was then visited by a well-dressed man, about forty years old.[1] He spoke good "Venetian," embraced the Captain; called himself a Christian, and said that he had taken service with a Moorish "King," who had 40,000 cavalry, and who had allowed him to visit the *Francos*.[2] India, at this time, besides tempting deserters, began to be frequented by European adventurers:[3] Varthema met at Calicut two Milanese who were casting guns for the Samorim. But,

[1] Correa (p. 248) calls him a Granadine Jew, and describes him as a large old man, with full beard, quite white. Castanheda adds that he professed himself a Levantine Christian. Osorio makes him a Sarmata Jew, who had taken refuge in Bosna (Posna? Bosnia?): if so, he was probably one of the Ashkenazim, repelled by the Polish king in 1450. He had drifted to India, viâ Alexandria, married a Jewess of Cochim, and became captain of the fleet to the Sabaio (governor) of Goa, under the king of Bijapur. His pretence was that his master wished to secure the services of such valiant men in his wars. Arrested and conveyed to Portugal, he was baptized "Gaspar da Gama," after his godfather: the people called him Gaspar das Indias. Finally he was knighted; returned to India, and did good service under Almeida and Albuquerque. He cannot be the "Gasper Rodrigues, interpreter" of the Commentaries, who call him by his proper name (vol. ii. chap. xiii.).

[2] This general term for Europeans, which probably dates from the days of Carolus Magnus, has now assumed the hated form of Faranj (Arab.), Farang (Pers.), and Firingi (Hindostani).

[3] As early as A.D. 1592 the chief of Sind had 200 natives dressed and armed like Europeans: these were the first "Sepoys."

says the Roteiro (p. 100) *esta conta era feita sem ospida*—"he (the enemy) reckoned without his host." The visitor begged a cheese for a friend ashore, and talked so much that he excited suspicion. Paulo da Gama landed and learnt that he commanded a large force lurking in the creeks. Under a liberal flogging he confessed that he came to spy, and awaited a flotilla of forty keel: concerning himself he repeated his assertions; and consequently he was carried to Portugal.

After delaying twelve days at Angediva, and burning her single prize, the Armada bade adieu to India. Correa (chap. xiv.) also takes her from Calicut to Cananor and thence to Angediva (Nov. 20–Dec. 10). The middle passage occupied three months minus three days, the result of calms and light winds. A second attack of scurvy also numbered some thirty victims: Camoens (v. 81) describes the disease in language which suggests the Roteiro. Each ship was worked by seven or eight men; and even these were unsound: for a fortnight the Fleet navigated herself, piloted by the *Santos e petitores* (interceding Saints). It was even proposed to return to India; but, six days afterwards, "God, of His mercy, gave a wind which carried them to land."

Fri., Oct. 5.

They rejoiced at the sight of Terra Firma as if it had been Portugal. The Moor-pilots declared that the landfall would be Mozam-

Wednes., Jan. 2, 1499.[1]

[1] The Roteiro (p. 101) gives by mistake February for January, which would make the voyage last four instead of three months.

bique, where scurvy was raging.[1] In the morning the Armada found herself off Magadoxo (Makdishu),[2] a city showing two-storied houses and a central palace surrounded by an enceinte with four towers. Da Gama ran close in and justified the Moorish report of his being a pirate by firing many bombards. But he had suffered severely from Moslem malice; and we must not judge the fifteenth by the lights of the nineteenth century.[3] From Magadoxo they sailed South for Melinde, anchoring at night.

The halliards of the Sam Rafael were burnt by lightning during a tornado. An *Armador* (outfitter) with eight craft full of men came out from Pate, another large Moslem town called by Captain Smee "Patta."[4] The attack was dispersed by cannon, but calms prevented a chase. Sat., Jan. 6.

They anchored for five days at Melinde, where the Shaykh greeted them hospitably. Correa dates the return to the friendly harbour on Mon., Jan. 9.

[1] The land-scurvy is fatal both in Africa and North America, as many who travelled in Abyssinia, and crossed the Prairies thirty years ago learned to their cost.

[2] For Captain Smee's account of "Magadosho," see "Zanzibar," etc., vol. ii. 469. Barbosa (p. 16) mentions that the people used "herbs (poison) with their arrows."

[3] During the last generation English men-of-war passing Winnebah on the Guinea Coast fired a broadside into the defenceless village, by way of recalling to mind the murder of the commandant, Mr. Meredith ("Wanderings in West Africa," ii. chap. 7).

[4] "Zanzibar," etc., ii. 475–82.

Jan. 8, 1499; and the departure on Jan. 20. The change of climate killed (*apalpou*) many of the sick, in spite of poultry, oranges, and other refreshments. Their friend gave them an ivory horn for the King of Portugal, allowed them to build a Padram, and sent with them a young Moor in token of friendship.

Leaving Melinde on Friday, they passed Mombasah, and spent five days at the adjacent shoals of Sam Rafael, dismantling the ship of that name, which was finally burnt. They procured poultry from a neighbouring port, Tamugata,[1] the Tagata of Goes; and they left it on Sunday, 27th. Sat., Jan. 12.

They found themselves near a very large island called "Jamjiber," distant ten leagues from the coast and inhabited by many Moors. This is Zanzibar, the minimum breadth of whose channel is sixteen geographical miles. Little known before 1856, her name is now familiar to England, especially after the visit of her amiable Sultan, Sayyid Barghásh, son of our old and faithful ally, Sayyid Sa'id, "Imam" of Maskat. The soft and graceful beauty of the scenery, the rounded hillocks, the abundant water, and the magnificent tropical growth may well have suggested the "Isle of Love." Mon., Jan. 28.

[1] This part of the East African Coast is extremely interesting, and still imperfectly explored. For an account of the roadstead "Mtangáta," the town of Tángá, and the ruins of Changa-ndumi and Tongoni, see "Zanzibar," etc., vol. iii. chap. 15.

[2] "Zanzibar," etc., vol. i. p. 79.

The Armada anchored off the Saint George Islands (Mozambique); and next day planted a Padram at "Mass Islet." At the Angra de Sam Braz they caught a quantity of *achoa* (anchovies), besides *sotelycairos* (Cape penguins) and seals, which were at once salted. Fri., Feb. 1. March 3.

Resuming the voyage, they were driven back after ten or twelve leagues by a Wester. When the wind blew fair they set sail, suffering severely from the change of heat to cold. March 12.

The Squadron cleared the Cape on March 20th, a date which Osorio transfers to April 26th. A stern-wind, lasting twenty-seven days, placed "the ship" (meaning "Berrio") in the parallel of Saint Iago, distant one hundred leagues. A calm ensued; but tornadoes showed that there was land to starboard.

The pilots determined, from the soundings of twenty to twenty-five fathoms, that the Armada was riding off the shallows of the Rio Grande. Thurs., April 25.

* * * * *

Here (p. 106) the Roteiro unfortunately ends incomplete; instead of steering us through the conflicting accounts of Da Gama's return to Lisbon. Correa (chap. xxi.) says absolutely nothing of a storm that separated the Armada. She touched at Terceira (Azores); in this

[1] In p. 14, Fotylicayos: Perestrello's description (Roteiro) leaves no doubt that they are the *aptenodytæ demusæ* of Linn., the *Manchots à becs tronqués* of Buffon.

"bloodless Colony" Paulo da Gama died about the end of Aug. 1499, and was buried in the Franciscan convent of Angra. Lastly all the ships arrived together at Lisbon on Sept. 18th: Castanheda giving early September. Accepting this version of a contemporary, the "discovery of India" had occupied two years, two months, and ten days (July 8, 1497–Sept. 18, 1499).

Barros (Dec. i. 4, 11) is more sensational. After leaving the Cape (March 20) the two ships were parted by a storm near Cape Verd, and did not meet again. At Saint Iago, Da Gama gave over command of the Sam Gabriel to the purser, Joam de Sá, with orders to make Lisbon; and accompanied, in a hired caravel, his dying brother to Terceira. Meanwhile the "Berrio" went straight from the Cape to Lisbon, which Coelho reached on July 10 (29th?) 1499. Some have attributed to him unworthy motives in thus hastening home. Such things have happened. More than once the second in command has attempted to throw the first in the shade, and has succeeded in illustrating *sic vos non vobis*. Here, however, the charge will not hold good. When Coelho failed to find his chief at Lisbon, he honourably proposed to return; but D. Manoel refused permission (Barros).

Da Gama reached Portugal on Aug. 29, 1499. The date is also that of Barros and Goes; but the extremes given for the Commodore's return are July 11 and Sept. 18. Instead of entering the city he went to the little

chapel at Belem, whence he had embarked, and remained there some days, indulging in grief and devotion. He was visited by "persons of distinction, who persuaded him to dissemble his sorrows in the presence of the King." Finally, he made his public entrance, and was received at Court with great rejoicings and all the honours he deserved.

It is pleasing to learn that the other surviving captain ended life happily. Nicoláo Coelho, who had so ably and conscientiously assisted in the great enterprise, once more sailed to India with Pedralves Cabral (1500); and a third time with D. Francisco de Albuquerque. He finally settled at home upon a pension.

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§ 2. The Travels of Camoens in the Nearer East.

BEFORE entering upon this section I will briefly notice what our Poet knew of Western geography.

Camoens could hardly have heard of North America. Although John and Sebastian Cabot obtained from the cold and cautious Henry VII. a Commission to explore the N. Western passage on March 5, 1496–97, regular colonisation began only with the Pilgrim Fathers (1620), forty years after our Poet's death. He could not speak

in detail of Central America without introducing, as Mickle does (iii. 246), the name of Columbus; and this was a sore point which he carefully avoids. D. Joam II. had neglected to secure the services of the great Genoese,[1] and the result was that the achievements of "friendly Spain" threatened soon to overshadow those of Portugal. He introduces, however, Mexico as Temistatam (*i.e.* Tenochtitlan, the Great Valley), with the Pacific, which he classically terms the "vast lake" girding its Western shore (x. 1); nor does he ignore its golden mines (x. 139). But he can dwell patriotically on The Brazil, because Sancta Cruz was discovered by one Portuguese and was organised by another, who chastised the "French pirate[2] accustomed to the Sea" (x. 63). He truly describes the glorious land as lying where the Continent is broadest (x. 140). He could also mention the quasi-gigantic Patagonian races and

[1] Columbus found no poet like Da Gama; but Tasso left two lovely octaves on the "Man of Liguria" (Canto xv. 31–2), which Fairfax unwisely translates "A Knight of Genes." The language of the *fatal donzella* is taken from Camoens: we seem to read The Lusiads in :—

> Chè quel poco darà lunga memoria,
> Di poema dignissima e d'istoria.

Stanza 301 refers to Magellan. It has been this great Seaman's hard fate to be ill-treated by his niggardly King, and to be abused for taking service under another.

[2] The Island of Villegagnon, the Huguenot Admiral expelled by Martim Affonso de Souza, may now be called one of the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro.

the majestic Straits of Magellan : there is a deep touch in the line describing Magelhaens[1] :—

> *Portuguez, porém não na lealdade*
> (A Portingall in all save loyalty).

With these three stanzas (x. 139–41) the Geographer-poet takes his leave of the so-called New World, and its multitudinous "Red-skin" tribes. Of the *Terra Australis* he could know nothing beyond vague classical tradition. Varthema (pp. 249–251), faring from "Giava" to "Malacha," heard from his Captain (a Malay?) that "there are some races who travel by four or five stars opposite the North (Southern Cross?); also that the day there is only four hours long." This would be in S. Lat. 59°; or 15° South of Tasmania. The Italian adds "'tis colder than in any part of the world"; and this may explain the allusion of Camoens (x. 141) to the Antarctic :—

> A sea and land where horrid Auster bideth,
> And 'neath his frozen wings their measure hideth.

Camoens left Europe in early manhood, and returned to it when his travelling days were past : he never wandered beyond the Iberian Peninsula, and all his information is hearsay. Yet the fourteen stanzas (iii. 6–20) which serve as *Einscenesetzung* to his history are highly artistic, and offer a model of compression. The sketch

[1] My enthusiasm for the marvellous Sea-river of Magellan, whose grandeur makes even "Rio (de Janeiro) Bay" look tame and small, is not shared by my friend and colleague, Mr. Consul Hutchinson, in "Two Years in Peru," vol. i. chap. i.

begins with Northern Europe, Scandinavia and her neighbours (iii. 10); notices the Ister, or lower Danube (iii. 7–12)[1]; frigid Scythia, and the numerous Scythians who contended that they were older than the Egyptians.[2] It touches on the Russ (meaning the Rowers), and specifies "Moscovia's Zebelin" (vi. 95), the Sable. So Ibn Batutah (chap. xii.) brings the precious fur from the Land of Darkness (Siberia), where "dwell the Russians who are Christians, with red hair and blue eyes, an ugly and perfidious people." I quote; I do not assert.

The sketch omits England which, hardly recovered from the savage and shameless Wars of the Roses (1455–71), had not yet become a "nest of singing birds." She shines by her absence in the Second Crusade (iii. 88), before Richard Cœur-de Lion and Philip Augustus set out to fight the third. At that time Britain was little known to the South; Petrarch almost ignored her, and Camoens had left Coimbra before George Buchanan "professed." In other places (vi. 43–68) she is recognised as the scene of the "Tournament of the Twelve"; and the "hard Englander," Henry VIII., a contemporary of Camoens (1509–47), is roundly abused (vii. 5). The opening of this seventh Canto is unpleasantly patriotic and "Latin-race": it recalls a

[1] Lucan, "Phars.," ii. 50. The Romans called this stream Danubius from the source to Vienna, and below it Ister.

[2] Hence to "Scyth" (ἀποσκυθίζειν) for to scalp. In the Rejected Stanzas we read of the Borysthenes (Dnieper) but not the Volga, Rha barbarum, whence our "rhubarb"; and the Arab. Athal (tamarisk).

phrase sometimes heard in the Peninsula, *não hai como nosoutros* (no one equal to ourselves);—stronger peoples think it and act upon it without saying it. Here England suffers in company with the "proud herd of Germans" and Martin Luther (vii. 4); with the "Gaul indign" (vii. 6), and with "Italy submerged in a thousand vices" (vii. 8). There is, however, a good word for Bruges (vi. 56), which realised the idea of a classical emporium. Its citizens, enriched by the Alexandria-Venice trade, were the envy of royalty; and Joanna of Navarre (1301) found the burgers' wives as queenly as herself.

From the barbarous northern regions, Germany,[1] Bohemia and Hungary, the Poet sweeps S. West, through Thrace, Byzantium, then lately absorbed by the Turk; Greece, upon whose classic glories, like Lucan's Cæsar,[2] he fondly dwells; Dalmatia, fated to rise in our day by recovering Bosnia, her natural appendage; Italy, whose ancient honours and whose modern abasement are strongly contrasted; and France, whose chief fame is from Cæsar's exploits. At last he reaches "noble Hispania," which includes Portugal; and he lingers over the racial and national names which are honoured by connexion with olden story (iii. 17–19). He ends with the Lusitanian realm (iii. 20), the apex, the coronal, the crown of the civilised world.

In one of the Stanzas (iii. 11) a capital error must be

[1] It is hard to see why Amisius or Amisia, the river of Ems, should be perverted to Amasis (iii. 11), which suggests Egypt.

[2] "Phars.," ix. 950, et seq.

noticed, especially as Western Europe is still hazy upon the subject. After naming the Ruthenians of Eastern Galicia, the Poet calls the Marcomanni "Polonians." As the words show, the Marchmen were Teutons and the Fieldmen[1] are Slavs. In the same Stanza the "Moscos"[2] (central Russians) are styled descendants of the Sarmatæ, who became troublesome to Rome in the days of Trajan; they now are also Slavs, but they were probably of "Turanian" (Tartar) origin; and, like the Livonians and the Lapps, Ugro-Finns.

At this end of the nineteenth century Europe begins to realise the power of the Slavs, who occupy her Eastern half, being bounded westward by a line drawn from the Southern Baltic to the Northern Adriatic. There is still a dispute about the immigration-date of these modern "Scyths," whose connecting links with the ancients were, according to Schafarik,[3] the Budini and the Neuri

[1] From Polje, a field, a plain: hence Polen-land or Poland; hence too Pole-axe, not "Poll-axe."

[2] There is no reason to prevent our identifying the Muscovites who built Moscow with the Moschi of Herodotus (iii. 94; vii. 78, etc.), the "savage Moschi" of Lucan, iii. 270. They adjoined Colchis, and probably occupied the mountains about Kars (Strabo, ii.). Pliny places them on the River Iberus, an affluent of the Cyrus (Kur). These Moschi, coupled with the Tibareni, are the Muskai and Tuplai of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Meschech and Tubal of the Hebrews. Scyths or Turanians they would probably be Tchuds or Finns, afterwards conquered by intrusive Slavic races. "Rus" (Russian) is a name applied by the Finns to the Swedes, meaning "rowers" or seafarers.

[3] Slav. Alt., p. 194. He would place the Neuri in Lithuania

of Herodotus (iv. 105, 108). Those who would change to Slavani the Stavani of Pliny and Tacitus, find in pre-Ptolomeian days the racial Slavic name, whose derivation from Slava (glory) belongs to empirical philology. Others have detected traces of their presence in S. Eastern Europe, especially Dalmatia and Illyria during the early Roman Empire.[1] According to general opinion the Antæ (Wends, Wendic tribe) and the Sclaveni or Sclabeni (Slovenes),[2] are first mentioned about A.D. 552 by Procopius and Jornandes Theophylactus. However that may be, we trace Slavic blood distinctly in the North German races, as the shortest visit to Berlin shows; and we find Slavic names even on Prince Bismarck's estate.[3] Such are the Brusios (Borussians, Prussians) and the Lithuanians who, says Herberstein, amongst other quaint superstitions, worshipped the lizard.

When Kelto-Scandinavian England and Teutono-Latin France passed superficial judgment upon the Russo-Polish wars, they were mostly ignorant of the deep-rooted

and Volhynia (whence Nur and Nuretz). The Budini suggest the Slavic "Wends."

[1] Specimens of local names evidently Slavic, as Zagora, Bilazora, Ochra, Teuca, etc., are given by the learned Abbé Alberto Fortis ("Viaggio in Dalmazia," i. pp. 45 9, etc.).

[2] Kopitar, Miklosich and other scholars compare the beautiful Slovenic dialect, now confined to Carniolia, Carniola, Krain, with the ecclesiastical Palæo-Slav.

[3] Varzin from Wawre, a laurel-tree, near Schlawe, i.e., Slava or glory.

family feud, the venomous quarrel of cousins which bred the dissension. The Finno-Slavic Russians are "Orthodox"; they cleave to the oldest form of Christianity which is distinctly Greek,: according to Count Xavier le Maistre,[1] Greek Christianity means only detestation of Roman—the converse being equally true and untrue. "St. Petersburg" preserves the name of the conservative, Hebraising, Apostle, as "St. Paul" does of his opponent. But the Poles (pure Slavs) are Latins, Romans, Catholics, a more modern school, that hates and is hated by the older. After the Hibernian Kelts they are the most unreasonable, violent, and fanatic of the so-called Papists: under their native kings the rare respites from wars and revolutions were spent in the dear delights of torturing and slaughtering "heretics," especially Protestants and Nonconformists. The vast Slavic family is theoretically one in its attitude to strangers. But, happily for Europe, Religion divides it, by an impassable line, into two hostile camps which balance one another. Even during the excitement of the last Russo-Turkish war (1877–8), the Latin Croats would not fight for the Greek Montenegrins. Our "Aryan brothers" in Eastern Europe are well worthy of study: they are the coming race of the Occident; and they appear likely to divide Asia with the Chinese, the coming race of the East.

With the Mediterranean regions Camoens is well

[1] This model Swiss-Frenchman is the author of the saying, "L'irréligion est canaille": the dictum would be equally true (and untrue) in Pekin and Paris.

acquainted. His campaign in Africa made him familiar with Marocco. He speaks of Tartessus, the habitation of Geryon and other monsters, where Phœbus stalled his steeds: like Sicily it was little known to the Greeks of Aristophanes' day: hence his "Tartessian Serpent," and the erroneous identification by moderns with Cadiz. He often refers to Egypt, a prominent and commanding figure before Da Gama struck at her so shrewd a blow. In Syria he mentions (vii. 6) Jerusalem, the throne of the Crusaders; and Damascus with her Ager Damascenus (iii. 9), which supplied red clay for Adam, the red man. Here the great and gallant Salah el-Dín (Saladin[1] referred to in iii. 87), the noblest personality of his age, held his Court; and his capital was never defiled by the foot of European invader. He shows, by alluding to the want of water (iii. 87), familiarity with the fatal fight of Kurun Hattín (the horns of Hattín) near Tiberias,[2] which in July 3–4, 1187, crushed the Cross in the Land of the Cross. Going northwards, he has a word for the Plain of Troy (iii. 7), a subject much debated in our day. In Turkey he correctly terms the race "Ottomans" (vii. 4), and explains "Rúmé" or "Rúmí" (x. 62, 68), as de-

[1] "Saladin" is buried in the cathedral mosque of Damascus, and men still pray at his tomb. I have seen it lately asserted that he was interred at Cairo and near Hums.

[2] Baedeker's "Syria" (p. 366). This excellent guide, by my friend Prof. Socin, of Bâle, contrasts well with the maunderings of "Murray's Syria," by the Rev. and Hibernian Mr. Porter. Despite the interested abuse of certain English critics, the former has virtually abolished its rival.

rived from the lower Roman Empire. Poets are sometimes Prophets, and their words endure. His pity for hapless Thrace and Armenia (vii. 13) now finds an echo throughout Europe: his brave words about the policy of driving the Tartar-pest back to their savage Asian dens (vii. 12) apply to the nineteenth as well as to the sixteenth century. So wrote Ariosto (xvi. 99), and so wrote Torquato Tasso:—

> For, if the Christian Princes ever strive
> To win fair Greece out of the Tyrant's hands;
> And those usurping Ishmaelites deprive
> Of woeful Thrace, that now captivèd stands.
> You must from Realms and Seas the Turk forth drive,
> As Godfrey chasèd them from Judah's lands.
>
> FAIRFAX, i. 5.

Camoens' travels in the nearer East may be laid down on three main lines. The first is India, and especially Western India; the second is his series of campaigning and coasting voyages in Arabia and Persia; and the third his compulsory residence at Mozambique on his way home.

India—I regret that we cannot write "Hindia"—is outlined with a bold hand (vii. 17–19); and the Poet shows a clear grasp of her general topography. A considerable advance is made beyond Ptolemy (A.D. 200), Fra Mauro (1450), and the Roteiro (1500). He maintains the ancient division which bounds India by the Ganges and the Indus (Sindhu, Sind, Sindia, Hind,

Ind):[1] the latter gave the peninsula her generic name in Europe, unknown to her old and Sanskrit-speaking peoples, if Sanskrit was ever spoken. The modern Prakrit languages limit "Hindostan," which is not found in Camoens, to the northern and subtemperate zone: it is divided by the Narmadá (Nerbudda) River or by the Vindhya range from the Deccan or Dak'han, Dakhshinapatha, Dachanabades, the right-hand (country) of one facing East.[2] Thus he recognises India Cis-Gangetica and Trans-Gangetica (vii. 17). The Moslems preferred Sind, Hind and Zinj (Zanzibar); which the mediævals modified to India prima, minor or parva (Sind); India secunda, major or magna (India proper); and India tertia (Barbosa p. 178), or inferior (Indo-China). Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1167) applied "middle" (i.e. continental) India to Southern Arabia, "which is called Aden, and in Scripture Eden in Thelasar" (2 Kings xix. 12). The Portuguese vulgarly called Abyssinia and Æthiopia *Indias baixas* (low or Southern Indies), opposed to *Indias altas* (India proper); and their misnomer dates from the days of Homer.

Camoens had studied the physiography, and knew the

[1] The Greek Sindon (fine linen) is from Sindhu: indigo (Indicum) is from Indus.

[2] Dachanabades, says the Periplus, is so called from "Dachan, the word for south": true but imperfect. Moreover, the word is half-Prakrit "Dak'han" and "half-Persian," Ábád (a region); and this compound is no longer, if it ever was, admissible. Dak'hin means dextra: so in Arabia El-Yemen (Sabæa) is the right hand region opposed to El-Shám (Syria) the left hand.

form, of the Indic Chersonesus. He makes it a huge pyramid whose base is the "cavernous Emodio"—possibly he had heard of the "antre vast" from which Mother Gángá springs[1]—the Emodi Montes, the Emaüs or Imaüs, in which we recognise the Sanskrit Himálaya (snow-house). Moreover he seems to divine its true relation to the Caucasus (vii. 18). He places the triangle-apex in a southern point "Comori, erst called Cori": this, the "Cory" of Robertson, corrupts Kunwári the princess, a local name for Shiva's wife, whose temple crowned the promontory (Arrian's Periplus) fronted by Ceylon, and outlain by the Maldives (x. 136).

It is interesting to note the geographical progress made during the half-century which elapsed between the voyage of Da Gama and the Poet's travels in India. The Ruttier (pp. 108–113) mentions a total of twelve "kingdoms," six lying in India proper, and almost all inhabited by "Christians" (Hindús). The first, distant three days' sail from Calecut, and rich in pepper, was Quorongoliz, probably Cranganor, confused with Cochin and the Torumgoli district. Then comes (ten days) Coleu (Quilon), a Christian country, whose king commands 10,000 men: the land is rich in cotton-cloth, and supplies a little pepper. The fourth, also distant ten days, is Caele (Kail), with a Moorish king and a Chris-

[1] Although he makes the noun masculine in classic form, when Barbosa terms the native name "Guenga" (p. 178), Camoens knows its traditions; its paradisiacal source (iv. 72); its holy water (i. 8); and its attraction to suicides (x. 121).

tian people:[1] the army musters 4,000 men and 100 elephants; and the seas are rich in pearls. The next is Chomandarla, famous for lacca[2] (cochineal), with a Christian king and people. This is Coromandal, Varthema's Cioromandel, the Kuru-mandal or Kuru-Kshetra, circle or field of the Kuru-Princes, which the Greeks called the kingdom of Coræ. Ceylam (Ceylon) is the sixth; and lastly we have (thirty-five to forty days), Bemgala or Bemguela (Bengal), which supplies wheat, cottons, silk, and silver: the "Moors" here outnumber the Christians, and the king has 400 war-elephants and 10,000 cavalry.

In his general description of India (vii. 17–22) as in that of Europe, Camoens sweeps from north to south. He begins with the Delijs or people of "Delhi," the rival of Baghdad and Damascus, said in the fourteenth century to contain 2,000,000 souls: the word erroneously supposed to derive from Dihlíz, a threshold, and conveying the same idea of the "Sublime Porte," should be written "Dehli."[3] Elsewhere (x. 64) he mentions the

These sites will be found noticed further on.

[2] Varthema (p. 107, etc.) speaks of the lacca (dye made from the kermes of the *coccus ficus*); and the lacca-tree (p. 238), the Malay "laka" (*Tanarius Major*), a native of Sumatra. The early Italians applied the same term to lac-dye and lacca-wood. The classics considered coccum (κόκκος), or Granum Cnideum, a crimson berry, not an insect (Lucan, x. 125).

[3] But this would borrow the imperial name from Persia, whereas Delhi and her Rajah existed before the days of Mahmúd of Ghazni. Barbosa (pp. 99–101) describes the "Kingdom of Dely."

"most powerful Mogor," our "Grand Mogul," whose name has extended to The Brazil.[1] He then passes to the *Patanes* (Pathans), a race too well known to Englishmen; but identified by a French translator with "Sriranga-patana" (Seringapatam), *c'est à dire la cité de Vishnou.* The origin of the word is disputed. Its origin is evidently the Paktues tribe of Herodotus:[2] corrupted through the Arabic Fat'hán, victorious: whence also Pashtu and Pukhtu, the language of the Afghans. Still going south he notices the *Decanis* (Maráthás of the Deccan); and the *Oriás* of *Orissa* (Uryas of Orissa), including Katak or Cuttack, the Southern region: afterwards (x. 120) he joins them to his "Narsinga." Both were provinces of the great Brahminical Rajahship of the Carnatic, separated in Camoens' day from the Deccan by River Aliga. This is the kingdom described with such unparalleled magnificence by every mediæval traveller, beginning with Abd el-Razzák. Its capital, Vijáyanagar, sacked by the confederate Dekhan kingdoms in 1565, covers nine square miles with ruins. When the Portuguese made India they heard of a king "Nara-Singha," a dynastic or titular rather than a topical name. The "man-lion" alludes to the fourth incarnation

[1] For "Grão Mogor," see "The Highlands of the Brazil," ii. 112.

[2] Herodotus calls two places Paktyica; one near Armenia (iii. 93) in the thirteenth satrapy; the other (iii. 102) on the Upper Indus, Afghanistan. The latter bordered on the city Caspatyrus (Cashmere?).

of Vishnu,[1] who in human shape and with leonine head and paws, burst through a pillar and tore to pieces Hiranya-kasipu (Gold-Axe), the tyrant of Multan, who had oppressed Megha-Rajah, the Cloud-King.[2] Adjoining this land of Jagannáth (Juggernaut) is "fertile Bengala,"[3] a province then of immense extent: till 1872 it included Assam, so called from the Aham dynasty.[4] Bengala the city (Barbosa, 178) is Chittagong or Islamabad.

Thence the Poet passes west clean across the Continent to "bellicosę Cambaya, erst Porus' reign" (vii. 21). Ibn Batutah (p. 146, 164) notices the "City of Kambáyá on the shores of India," and its celebrated "bore" or flood-tide. The Roteiro (p. 49) also introduces "Quambaya" and its 600 islands; but confounds it with the *Mar Ruyvo* (Eythræan Sea) and the *Casa da Meca*

[1] See the "Antiquities of Orissa," by Rajendralala Mitra, lately published. This work corrects the vulgar errors concerning "Juggernaut."

[2] I have alluded to the legend in the "History of Sindh" (p. 377).

[3] A copper tablet of the ninth century ("Asiat. Researches," ix. 446, and Elphinstone, "India," i. 397) declares that the Rajah of Gaur or Bengal ruled India from the Ganges-source, including Thibet, to "Adam's Bridge" (Ceylon reef), and from the Bramhaputra to the Western Sea. The Moslem rulers numbered a succession of thirty (A.D. 1338–1573) sovereigns: they retained North Bahar, Sundargam (Dacca), Jajnagar (Tipera), Assam, Katak, and the adjoining parts of Orissa. For an early notice of self-sacrifice to Jagannáth by cutting off one's own head, and of suspension to and crushing under the car, see Nicolò de' Conti (p. 28).

[4] Robinson's "Descriptive Account," etc. Calcutta: 1842.

(Ka'abah). It is Varthema's "city called Combeia."[1] Camoens uses the word like Barbosa (p. 55), as a synechdoche for Gujarát,[2] and extends it into the Panjab, where ruled two Rajahs known as Porus. He calls the people Cambaios (x. 32), and Guzerates (x. 60), who inhabit one of the gardens of India (x. 106), a rolling land of rich black "cotton earth," clothed with a marvellous luxuriance of vegetation. The Poet then returns S.-west to Malabar; and, lastly, South to Canará (vii. 21). His short sketch of the Sayhadri range, popularly called the Western Ghats (Gaté, vii. 22), the wall that supports the central table-land, might serve for the present day.

In the inner Deccan Camoens was acquainted with the kingdom of Bijápúr, for he speaks of Hydalcham (Ádil Shah) in more than one place (vii. 21; x. 64, 72); and he indirectly alludes to the diamond mines of Golconda,[3] noticed by Varthema (pp. 107, 118) and by

[1] Barbosa (pp. 57, 58) also describes "Champaver" (Champanír), "Andavat" (Ahmedábád); and the City of Cambay (p. 65).

[2] My first Indian march was through Gujarát; and it impressed me strongly with the superiority of the villages under native, to those under English, rule. Memory is curiously tenacious of small matters: I shall never forget the face with which Mr. Boyd, the Company's Resident at Baroda, heard the remark. Mr. James Caird ("Notes by the Way," in the "Nineteenth Century") declares the same of the Nizam's dominions; and the statement may be found even more forcibly put in A.E.I. (p. 151). The day approaches when these remarks will no longer be pooh-pooh'd.

[3] A.E.I. (chap. ix.) proposes to work the mines, with scant regard for Anglo-Indian incuriousness and *vis inertiæ*. Yet Mr. V.

Barbosa (213). Finally on the East Coast he gives a geological sketch (x. 109) of Meliapur in Coromandel near Madras; and he ends with "Cathigam" (x. 121). This seems to be a misprint for the Chatigam of Barros: it is the Catigan of Patavino ("Geography," A.D. 1597); the Chátgám of Sádik-i-Isfaháni (Orient. Trans. Fund), and the Arab. Shátí-jám (Sidi Ali in Asiat. Soc., Beng. v. 466); the modern Bengali Chátganv, and our corrupted Chittagong. The usual etymology is Chaturgráma = tetrapolis, which Mr. Monier Williams (Sansk. Dict.) translates "name of a country." Ibn Batutah's Sutirkáwan (Satagong), or Sadkáwan (Satgong), was on the Hoogly or Western arm of the Gangá-Bramhaputra delta: Chittagong lay to the East of the Oriental embouchure, where the Portuguese placed their Porto Grande.[1] The latter in 1666 was named Islamábád.

The part of India most noticed in The Lusiads is naturally the Western Coast connected with Albuquerque's Goa. This city is the Sindabúr of early Mahommedan travellers, usually attributed to the Moslems of Onor (Hunáwar), who, persecuted by the Hindu Rajahs of the Carnatic, took refuge in 1479 with their coreligionist, Malik Ozen (Hasan?), of Bijapur, and built the town

Ball lately reported that the Bandelkhand mines still yield nearly £60,000 per annum.

[1] For a learned and exhaustive note on both sites, by Col. Yule, see Hakluyt's "Varthema" (Introd. lxxx.–lxxxii., and Postscript cxiv.–cxxi.), illustrated by Gastaldi's map, A.D. 1561. The latter contains a curious misprint (?) "Reyno *la de* (for della) Verma= Burmah, the Berma of Barbosa (p. 181).

at the Ella village. But Dr. da Cunha ("the English at Goa," etc.), observing that Ibn Batutah was at Goa in 1342–50, believes the foundations to have been laid by Malik Tubriga in 1312. Varthema (p. 115) calls it Goga, and perversely applies "Goa" to Gogo (p. 92): Barbosa (p. 74) has Guoa. I need hardly say much about the often-described place: suffice it to observe that there are three Goas. Old-old-Goa, the Gomanta or Gopukapura of the (Hindu) Kadamba Rajahs, on the bank of the Juary, is now marked only by the Sam Lourenço Church. Old Goa (*Goa Velha*), the golden capital of Camoens' day, lies some two miles to the North on the Mandovy stream. The European city was founded, as it were, on St. Catherine's Day (Nov. 20, 1510, O.S.), and began to be deserted at the end of the last century. New Goa or Pangim is about the same distance west of its great predecessor: its nucleus was the "tower of Pangij," which gave so much trouble to Albuquerque.

Camoens is well acquainted with the ethnology of Western India, and especially of Malabar. He says nothing of the four castes[1] or rather nations, Brahmans, Kshatryas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, into which the modern Hindus divide their race; nor does he allude to the more

[1] The word is Portuguese *Casta*=race, stock (man or beast). Correa (153) calls Moslem interference with caste a "diabolical method." The English, with a singular short-sightedness, attack their best friend: they would convulse society by abolishing caste, and would render India untenable by the Mlenchha (mixed race), or Varanshankar (the impure race), viz., ourselves.

ancient distribution into seven classes which prevailed in the days of Herodotus, Alexander, Megasthenes, and Strabo.[1] He vividly contrasts high caste with low caste.

[1] The writers of Rennell and Robertson's age were so dazzled by the "discovery" of Sanskrit that they either set aside or depreciated the travels in and Annals of India, written during and immediately after the Alexandrine conquests. Of Hindu history, or rather fable, we can believe next to nothing; and we must remember, when the Vedas are attributed to B.C. 1400, and the Laws of Menu to B.C. 900, that the earliest Sanskrit character is Semitic (as is proved by the letters facing left), derived from Phœnicia, who borrowed from Egypt; that the first Sanskrit inscription of Priyadasi dates from 300–250 B.C.; that the oldest cave-temple (Sudama) dates from the "twelth year of Asoka" (B.C. 252), whilst the next (Gopi) was made in the days of Dasaratha; and that the Alexandrine travellers mention letter-writing only cursorily (even in the fifteenth century paper was found only at Cambay). On the other hand, the sharp-witted Hellenes may be trusted even when they praise the veracity, honesty, and simplicity of the now untruthful and litigious race. Our chief authorities are Hecatæus, Herodotus (of Darius I.), Ctesias (B.C. 400), Arrian ("Indica"), who discusses the invasions of Dionysus and Hercules at Methora (Krishna at Mattrá?), of Sesostris and of Semiramis; and who follows Nearchus, Aristobulus and Ptolemy (Soter or Lagi) "when they agree." Megasthenes was sent (circ. B.C. 295) by Seleucus Nicator with his daughter to Sandrocottus (Chandragupta?) at Palibothra (Pataliputta). Onesicritus his companion and Daimachus, a Hellenised Persian, led a mission to Allitrochades or Amitrochates (Amitroghátas) son and successor of the Buddhist Rajah. Among the later classics we have the learned Diodorus and the judicious Strabo, who quotes Onesicritus, Eratosthenes of Cyrene (nat. B.C. 276), and Apollodorus the "Chronographer" (B.C. 140); P. Mela; Pliny fifty years after Strabo; Ptolemy eighty years after Pliny; and the Egyptian trader Cosmas Indicopleustes under Justinian. In the early Christian æra the Chinese Buddhists (Fa-hian, Huan-tsung,

The former includes Brahmans; and he notices (vii. 40) those matrimonial excesses which have made the Kulins of Bengal infamous. In modern days the priesthood in Malabar is divided into natives, Namburi or Namuri, (not "Nambeadarim"), to whom the famous polemic Sankarachárya belonged; and the Pattan[1] or foreigners. The fighting caste, the militia of the land Malayala was, and still is, the Nayr, a term derived from Nayaka (a chief). Divided into many castes, Tamburi. Kurum, and others, it is a light-skinned, well-made and pugnacious race: and its eating flesh shows a Sudra or servile origin, although all wear the string of the Dwija (Twice-born).[2] Camoens notices the Nayr polyandry, a part of Indian communism, which characterises the country, and

etc.) enable us to check and correct the assertions of a race (as Megasthenes remarked),

for profound
And solid lying much renowned.

[1] This word explains the "Brahmin Patamares" of the Commentaries (vol. ii. chap. xvii.). The word, of course, cannot here mean "messengers or runners."

[2] The high-caste Hindu has three births: by his mother; by investiture with the Janeo or "Brahminical thread" (confirmation); and by the funeral pyre. Malabar is a land of anthropological marvels; and Barbosa has described them well. According to some, the Samiry Rajah was compelled, after reigning twelve years, to suicide himself in public like the African Mwátá yá Nvo. Others expose him to be slaughtered by Nayr champions ambitious of kingship. I have noticed this curious ceremony, together with the Pariahs and the Moplahs (Mappilas) in "Goa and the Blue Mountains" (pp. 220–21; 225–29; and 230–45).

which is, perhaps, the only form of sexual union that ignores jealousy (vii. 41); while Varthema gives a curious ethnographical account of the relations between the Namburi and the wives of the Samiry Rajah.[1]

The sharpest line divides these twice-born from the helots; and the latter may have given rise to Swift's Yahoos: their horrible prædial slavery was an ineffable disgrace to the "mild Hindú." Camoens calls them Poléas (vii. 37); Varthema (p. 142), Poliars; Barbosa (p. 142), Pulers; and Hamilton, Poulias; others, Poulichees; and moderns, Pariahs. The word now in general use appears in the Ayin-i-Akbari (iii. 343) and in Sonnerat (i. 55). Its origin is doubtful. Some derive it from Paraï, the tom-tom beaten by these wretches on special occasions. Others make Pulayar, the high Tamil term, descend from Pulai, "meat," an impure food. But we find the most probable origin in the Paraya of Asoka's Edict: it is the name of a race in the centre of the Dravidian group, coupled with the Keralas, or old Malabarians.[2] These low-caste and degraded tribes are, as might be expected, dark and ill-favoured, unclean and cowardly. In other parts of India the Pariahs are less despised; the race is not physically infirm; and, as Sepoys in the earlier days of "The Company," they did good service.

[1] This polyandry was evidently instituted in order to form a fighting caste, and to limit its numbers.

[2] For further details see Sir Walter Elliot; "Journ. Ethno. Soc.," i. part. 2, p. 103.

Under the generic term "Mouros" Camoens includes foreign Moslems, Arabs, Persians, and Egyptians, with the indigenous Moplahs of Malabar. This race, the Mapulers of Barbosa (p. 146) got by Semitic sires (Yemenis, Hazramis, Ománis, and others) out of Hindú women, Brahman, Nayr, and Pariah, began in the earliest days of Portuguese exploration to show its turbulence and sanguinary hatred of strangers. In the present century it has put to flight more than one detachment of native regulars; and it murdered several English officers till Moplahs were enlisted and made to fight Moplahs. The word, of old "Moplais," is popularly derived from ma (mother) and pilla (son): the local polyandry made it impossible for a child, however wise, to know his own father, and the succession was always "by the distaff," through sisters' sons (marrumuka-tayum). Duncan suggests that the name is Mahapillas (children of Mocha). The learned Editor of Varthema (p. 123) would derive it from Muflah, victorious; or from Máflih, an agriculturist, a congener of "Felláh." All three, however, are unadmissible. Camoens does not mention the white Jews of Cochin; and Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1167) found there only black Jews. Barbosa speaks of Jews (p. 149), but does not specify the colour.

Taking Goa as a centre, we will follow Camoens first down and then up the Coast; premising that many places which were of high importance in the sixteenth century have now become mere villages by the devasta-

tion of wars and plagues.[1] He rightly separates (vii. 21) Canará, the Northern, from the Southern region, Malabar, which begins about Calicut. Both are included in the Greek Limerike: the modern Malabar is derived from the ancient Male, with the addition of "bár," a region.[2] He ignores the primitive Keralas and the æra dating from Parasu Ram (B.C. 1176).[3] But he has heard the story of the Maharaj Saramá (Sarmá) Perimal, the Sernaperimal of Barbosa (p. 102), who became a Moslem about A.D. 906, or nearly six centuries before Da Gama arrived. This, the last ruler of the united Kingdom (vii. 32), whose capital was Coulam or Quilon, divided his territories amongst his kinsmen, and reserved twelve leagues along the coast, including the site of Calicut, for his nephew-page. The latter also inherited the sword, state-chandelier, and cap of dignity; and all were bound to obey him except the Rajahs of Coulam and Cananor. Sarmá (not Samari) Perimal embarked for Jeddah from the present position of Calicut (not Calicut itself, as Camoens supposed), whither the "Moors," to do him

[1] Yule's "Cathay," etc., gives (ii. 450) a most useful list of the "Mediæval ports of Malabar."

[2] So in Zang-bár, the region of the Zang, Zinj, Zunúj or Æthiopians; our "Zanzibar" (Journ. R. Geog. Soc. for 1860, pp. 30–1).

[3] As this old Malabar æra was in cycles of a thousand years, and the second millennium began in A.D. 176, we may assume the latter for its origin, and the first to be one of those astronomical epochs which the mediæval Hindus were so well able to calculate backwards, the better to fabricate claims of an immense antiquity.

honour, transferred themselves from the older capital. Hence Ibn Batutah, who limits Malabar between Sindabúr and Coulam (166–7), speaks of her twelve Kings.

In the modern Goanese proper Camoens notices the conquest of Pondá, an inner post (x. 72): it is still the chief town of the Province bearing the same name. Doubling Cape Ramas we come upon Baticalá (x. 66), the port of the Narsingha or "King of Decan": it is the Bathacala of Varthema; the Batcoal or Batacola of Hamilton; and the Batuculla of Buchanan which Barbosa (p. 79) places South of "Honor." We ignore the derivation; but the latter half of the word means fort (Cala = Kala'ah). Afterwards called Sadáshivgarh from Sadáshiv Rao of Sunda, who here built a fort, it became important when the Carnatic Kingdom was overthrown (1565): it is now a petty place in North Canara near Carwar (Kárwár) Head, a station for coasting steamers. Next to it lies Fort Cintacora, the Cincatora of Correa (p. 242); the Cintacola of Barbosa and Varthema, at the mouth of the Aliga River, fronting Anjediva, formerly under the Sabayo (Moslem governor) of Goa. This is the unimportant Ankolah in North Canara; the Ankla of Hamilton and the Ancola of Buchanan. Onor, Honor, Honore or Hunawar is the Hinaur of Ibn Batutah, who makes most of the people Moslems: they were famous for waging fierce wars with the Carnatic Hindus. Portuguese history calls it the Kingdom of Garçopa, from the Falls of the Gairsoppa

River, which, second to none, are rarely visited by travellers. In 1784 Onor was defended by Captain Torriano against 10,000 natives, the great Anglo-Indian exploit of the day.

Nothing is said of the now important Mangalor, the Manjerun of Ibn Batutah; the Mangolor of Varthema and the Mayandur of Barbosa (p. 81): which has been identified with the ancient Muziris.[1] Passing "Mount Delly" we come to Canamor and its little dependency Bacanor (x. 59). The former, in Varthema "Canonor," was a small independent Rajahship where the Portuguese built a fort in 1507, and eventually seized the town. They were expelled in 1660 by the Dutch, who sold it to a Moplah Rajah; from him it passed into the hands of Tipú Sultan, and Abercrombie made it British in 1791.

We now reach Calicut, the objective of Da Gama's voyage and the capital of the coast-country as far South as Ponáni. It is well described by Varthema (135–6) and Barbosa: Captain Hamilton notices the ruin of the Southern town built by the Portuguese; and I have told the modern legend of the submerged city.[2] Chale (x. 61), the Challa or Chulle of Barros, which must not be confounded with Chaul, is one of the many portlets, townlets, and fortlets depending upon the ex-capital; and Coulete (x. 55), six leagues from it, was an arsenal

[1] "The Konkan"; by Alexander Kyd Nairne, Bombay, 1875. But Cranganor, one of the ancient capitals of Malabar, is called in old deeds Muyiri Kodu (Muziris?).

[2] "Goa and the Blue Mountains," pp. 180–5.

of Calicut. Passing the small and unimportant rajahships of Bipur (x. 14), now Beypur, the terminus of the Madras Railway; and of Tanor, we reach Panane (x. 55), our Ponáni, 28 miles South of Calicut. This is the Pananx of Barbosa (p. 153), noticed by Baldæus as the harbour-town where the "Sammoryer" ruled when Da Gama arrived: now it is a mere village. The same may be said of "Muziris" (?), the little Cranganor or Craganor (vii. 35), Barbosa's Crangolor (p. 154), which ended the Kingdom of Calicut.

Some fifty miles south of Ponáni, and still in Malabar, we come to the once important Cochin, properly Káchi, and its outlying islet Repelim (x. 65). Camoens has enfamed the place by noticing the battles of Pacheco at the Pass Cambalam (x. 13), another islet at the "river-mouth," that is, the "Backwater of Cochin." This lagoon, which suggests West Africa, is "one of the finest inland navigations imaginable." The Portuguese built at "Cochin" noble quays, wharves and warehouses; and they were kept in good repair by the Dutch, who lost the place in 1662. The Honourable E. I. Company, fearing lest the home Government return them to their former owners, wantonly blew them up in 1806.[1] South of Cochin, and 120

[1] That eccentric genius, the late Mr. Chisholm Anstey, has left in Hukluyt's "Correa" (pp. 428 30) a picturesque description of this outrage perpetrated by the "Vandals of Leadenhall Street," *alias* the late Court of Directors of the late Hon. E. I. Company.

miles from Calicut is the little Rajahship of "Porcá" (Elegy i.), also called Chembe, where the Poet first campaigned in India. It is Varthema's Island of Porcai (pp. 154–5), almost insulated by the Cochin Backwater. Barbosa (p. 157) tells us that it had its own lord: Baldæus terms it Percatti, and Captain Hamilton makes Porcat or Porcal extend only four leagues along the shore: finally, Keith Johnston converts it to Parrakad. It became a nest of pirates in the days of "Evory and Kid"; and it was subverted by native wars in 1746. Near it lies Beadaḷa (x. 66) or Bardella, the islet-town and capital of the Pimenta Rajah, another petty chieftainship in Travancore.

In the same Province, which extends from Cranganor to Cape Comorin, are Calli-Coulán, the former word meaning a river; and five leagues south Coulam (vii. 35) or Quilon. It was an independent Hindu Rajahship, comprising the seaboard of Cape Comorin, and extending north-east to "Chayl." The former is the Kaukammali of Arab-travellers (11th century); the Cacolon of Varthema; the Calecoulang of Baldæus; the Coilcoiloan of Hamilton, and the Kayankulam of modern maps. Quilon, ex-capital of the Samiry Rajah, is the Chulam of Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1166); the Kaulam of Ibn Batutah, who places it ten days from Calicut; the Kaulam Meli (Male or Malabar) of El-Idrisi; the Coulan of M. Polo, who tells us that the people were Jews and Christians; the Colon of Varthema, and the Coulam, where Barbosa (p. 158) makes Saint Thomas build his mira-

culous church. In 1600 the two districts of Callicoulan and Coulam or Quilon were divided.

Rounding Cape Comorin we come to Ceylam (Ceylon). Camoens makes Taprobana (i. 1) his Easternmost point on account of its classical fame, which began in the days of Alexander. Strabo makes it double the size of Britain. Pliny (vi. 22) describes the Singhalian embassy to Claudius Cæsar, when Hindu lying probably spread abroad an inordinate exaggeration concerning its area. Ptolemy and Agathemerus give it a length of 15°, of which 2° extend into the Southern hemisphere. Marco Polo assigns to it 2,400 miles in circumference: hence some have supposed that it has been confounded with Sumatra. Cosmas Indicopleustes mentions Sieledîba, the Hindu Sinhala ("lion's place"), whence the Arab Sarandib.[1] It is the Silha of Maundevile who, like Camoens, also calls it Taprobana (chap. xxx.). The latter is either Tapasya-vana (jungle of austere devotion), or Tambápanni (Copper-palmed), from a tale told in the Mahavansa. Perhaps Camoens alludes (x. 51) to its old mythological name, Lanká, the first meridian of Hindú geographers. The Poet is familiar with Colombo on the West Coast (x. 51); and the cinnamon-plantations. He has a fine allusion to the holy mountain (x. 136) called by us, after the Moslems, Adam's Peak. The block, only 1352 feet high, is remarkable for its isolation; and the pilgrims when

[1] Ammian. Marcell., speaking of the Emperor Julian, declares that he was visited by deputations, "abusque Divis et Serendivis" ("Maldivia and Ceylon," xxii. cap. 7).

climbing the dangerous places and bare faces of stone, are assisted by steps cut in the rock, by a ladder forty feet long, and by iron chains, which Fra Mauro attributes to Alexander the Great. The summit is an elliptical terrace or platform sixty-four by forty-five feet: surrounded by a wall five feet high. It commands a glorious view; and in the centre of the enclosure rises the Peak-apex, a granite rock measuring some nine feet in altitude. Under a humble tiled roof, supported on posts, is the "Shri Pada" (holy foot-print), of Adam or Shiva; of Buddha (Fo), of the eunuch of Candace, or of Saint Thomas. The length of this left *pegada* is about five feet, with disproportionate breadth (two and a half feet); whereas the Dalada or eye-tooth of the great incarnation, Gotama, preserved at the Maligava-vihara (convent) of Kandy, the old capital, measures two inches.[1]

West and South of the Great Island are the remarkable archipelagoes which Camoens calls Maldivia (x. 136). He neglects its cowries; but specifies its Coco-de-mer. In his days the fruit, remarkable only for its size and deformity, cured all diseases, and was held the best of antidotes: now it is used chiefly for the begging-bowl (Kajkúl) of the Dervish. The three groups of thirteen volcanic or coralline *atolls*, Maldives, Chagos, and Laccadives, run about 1,000 miles from the parallel of

[1] "Memoir on the Tooth-relic of Ceylon," by J. Gerson da Cunha, Thacker, Bombay, 1875. Knox ("Ceylon," pp. 144, 210, 215) reduces the print to two feet: Ibn Batutah, who gives a detailed account (pp. 185, 190), measures eleven shibr or spans.

Mangalore to the Equator. They were visited in the ninth century by two Moslem travellers, who term them in Arabic the "eleven thousand isles"; Male-div in Malayalim, meaning "a thousand isles." Others derive the term from Malé, the Sultan's island, which Ibn Batutah (p. 179) calls Mohl or Dhibat el-Mahall, and Barbosa (p. 164) Mahaldiu. The Laccadives, or Laksha-dwipa (a lac, or 100,000 isles), were discovered during Da Gama's second voyage; now they are included in the British province of Canara. Maldivia is inhabited by Moslems, an inoffensive race, who trade with Malabar and Bengal.

We then pass El-Ma'abar[1] (the place of transit) which so many have confounded with Malabar. The former is originally the "passage"; the ferry-line, Adam's Bridge, Rama's Bridge, the broken line of reefs from Rameshwar to Ceylon, whose main gate, the Pamban Passage,

[1] The root "'Ibr," applied to lands along the Euphrates, is believed by Rawlinson (Sir H.) to have given rise to "Hebrew." Ibn Batutah (pp. 122–23, 192) says that Ma'abar was under an infidel king (of the Carnatic), but that Moslems had districts near the shore. Abulfeda places it 3-4 days East of Kaulam (Quilon), and says, "The first portion of the district of El-Ma'abar, on the part of Manibar (Malabar) is Cape Komhori" (Comorin). M. Polo's Mahabar or Maabar, in Coromandel, "sixty miles west from Zeilan" (iii. 20), is written Malabar by many translators, and corrected by Vincent (iii. 520). It is the Mabaron of Maundevile (chap. xvi.); and "Malawar" in Lancaster (Hakluyt's, p. 9) has Cape Comori for headland. Col. Dow ("Hist. of Hind.," i. 300) mistranslates Ferishtah's Maabar by Malbar: the same confusion is made by the Rev. G. P. Badger (Varthema, p. 183).

is to be opened to steamers. "Ma'abar" was then applied to the whole region, and De Sacy would extend it to the Ganges-mouth. Inland on the Continent is the Kael or Cael of M. Polo; "Koil," in the language of Malayalim, meaning a temple. It is the Caele or Chail of the Roteiro; the Chayl of Varthema, and the Sael of Barbosa (p. 173). Colonel Yule identifies it with Coilpatam near the Tinnevelly River; others with Collacoil, Quillicare or Killicarai, the town and country further north, facing the Pamban Passage and Palk's Strait. Hereabouts must have been the Koliki, Koliaki or Koniaki of certain Greek travellers; the Kolis of Dionysius; the Colchos or Kolkhi of the Periplus, and the Calligicum of Pliny.

We now turn northwards from Goa and find a more interesting coast. This is the Konkana (Concan), one of the seven divisions of the Parasu-Rama-Kshetra, the "Field of Battle-axe-Rama," where he destroyed the Kshatriyas and supplied their places by reanimated corpses.[1] The Greeks knew it as Ariaka, and further North began their Larika or Barygaza. The first place of importance is Dabhol (Dabul, x. 34, 72), the Dabuli of Varthema, who describes it at full length (pp. 114–15); it is the Dabul of Barbosa (p. 71) and the Mustafabad of the Moslems. This second harbour of the "kingdom of Decani" (Bijapur) was taken by the Portuguese under Almeida (1508), and the Russian Nikitin (fifteenth

[1] Moderns pretend to trace the corpse-like look in the faces of the Concani Brahmans ("Goa," p. 15).

century) found it a large town and extensive seaport, between Goa and Chaul, the meeting-place for all nations navigating the coasts of India and Ethiopia. Ogilby (English Atlas, 1670) shows a wall round the sea and river-flanks, containing sundry large round buildings; and Mandeslo (1639) notes that the fortifications were demolished. Dabhol is now a pauper village in the Ratnagiri district on the north bank of the Washishti or Anjenwil River (N. Lat. 17° 34').[1] Further north and 23 miles from Bombay we come to Chaul or Champávati; the Simylla emporium et promontorium of Ptolemy and the Periplus, preserved in the Sayhún of Arab geographers. Nikitin (iii. 8, 9) calls it Chivil; Barbosa, Cheul; and Varthema makes Cevul the southern limit of "Combeia." Ralph Fitche in 1583 mentions its great traffic after being captured by the Portuguese: De la Valle (1623) and Captain Hamilton found it "miserably poor." Shells of towers and keep (torre de menagem), of castles and churches show the former importance of "Rewadandá"; but the plague wasted it; and, although little steamers from Bombay still touch there, Ichabod is written upon its grim and grisly ruins.

In those days Bombay was not. Our western capital was represented by the Kaliene-polis of Ptolemy, the Hindu Kalyana and the Moslem Islamábád, where Greek

[1] Dabhol, though written Dabul, must not be confounded with Debal-bandar, the old name of Thátha in Sind, which is Deval (= Deva + álaya), God's House. Thornton's Gazetteer does not even mention Dabhol.

and Roman traders sold and bartered till the days of Cosmas. The silting-up of the River-mouth and the exigencies of harbourage shifted Kalyana seawards to Thana, the Tanamayambu of Barbosa (p. 68), and Thâna to Bombay; reducing the classic emporium to the wretched village and Railway Station, "Callian." In the Red Sea, Heroöpolis (x. 98)[1] by a similar movement became Arsinoë or Old Suez; and this is being ruined by New Suez,—Canalville.

The honours of Kaliena were inherited by Baçaim (x. 61), the Sanskrit Vasái (dwelling-place), the Baxay of Barbosa (p. 68), and our Bassein. She has a history of her own.[2] Till the twelfth century the "Village" was ruled by the Silára and Yádava Hindus: the Moslems seized it in A.D. 1311, and held it for two hundred years under Cambay (Gujarát). The fortifications were founded by Nuno da Cunha in 1536; and the city soon became the residence of the Captain-general of the Northern Capital (*a Córte do Norte*). The "Fidalgos," or "Cavalheiros de Baçaim," became proverbial, and their good swords kept it for two centuries. In consequence of a war provoked by the Colonists with Salsette it fell to the Maráthás, who lost 5,000 killed and wounded during the siege. The English took it from Sivaji's successors in 1780, and annexed it to Bombay. The old walls still inclose gorgeous green growths and

[1] The "City of Heroes," of which presently.

[2] See Dr. da Cunha's "Chaul and Bassein," 1 vol. 4to. London: Trübner, 1845.

grim black ruin-heaps, and the Northern Railway connects it with head-quarters.

Damam, Barbosa's Denoy (p. 68), the next noteworthy place still Portuguese, introduces us to Syrastrene (Surashtra, Surat), also called Gaurashtra, Guzerat or Gujarát; Camoens' "bellicose Kingdom of Cambay" (vii. 21). The port was taken by Martim Affonso de Souza, greatly to the regret of Bahádur Shah, the Melique, Malik or King (x. 67). It lay perilously near his chief port, Surat; and it commanded the southern entrance to the Gulf of Cambay, the water-way to his capital. Opposite it also lay the far-famed Diu[1] Island and Headland, originally a Pirates' den; it presently became a chief dépôt for the Arabian, Persian, and Western Indian trade; hence the incredible efforts of the Portuguese to take and keep it. They still hold the Island, the old forts are standing, but the scanty garrison has no power on the Coast.

We then pass along the Seaboard of Kathiáwád (Kattywar) to the "inmost bight of Jaquete" or the Cutch-gulf; the Kanthi of Ptolemy and the Otien-po-chi-lo of Hwen-Thsang. Here the "Bore" (x. 106), the violent flood-tide known to the Severn and the Eager of

[1] Dwipa; *the* Island. Camoens makes it an iamb Dĭū; we a monosyllable Dyú. Varthema (pp. 91–3), who had a conversational knowledge of vulgar Arabic, calls the place "Dioubandierrumi" (=Diu Bandar er-Rúmí); the "Island-port of the "Rúmí," or Turks of Constantinople. Barbosa (p. 59) has Duy, and gives the "Malabar (?) name" Diuixa (Diu-i-Sháh? the king's Diu?).

the Humber, forms a wall of water four or five feet high, rushing at the rate of ten knots an hour, the cause being the meeting of the sea-flux and the Mahi River upon a shallow floor. It astonished the Portuguese as much as it did Alexander's Mediterranean "salts." Varthema erroneously remarks "the waters rise in the reverse of ours when the moon is on the wane" (Vincent, ii. 396): on the contrary, they are highest when the moon is in perigee. The word "Jaquete," which has exercised commentators, is derived from "Jagat"; the latter is a contraction of "Jagat-nath,"[1] the "World-lord"; and god Krishna has still a noble temple at Dwarka, whereabouts he was slain. Colonel Yule kindly forwarded to me the following valuable note:—

"Dowson's Elliot quotes from (v. 438) the Tabakát-i-Akbari of Nizamaddín Ahmed:—'Then he (Muzaffar Gujaráti) proceeded to Jagat, which is the extreme town of Surath (Surat), and well known under the name of Dwárka. Iaquete is found in a map of Linschoten (*circ.* 1598), who says (chap. vii. French translation, 1638):—'After the same river Sinda and Indus, and some small islands on the Coast of Sinda, comes a little gulf which the Portuguese call *Enseada* (Gulf of Cutch), wherein are many islands. The Gulf is also termed *Iasquetta*, and is notable for the flux and reflux of its tide, which extends further and more swiftly than anywhere in the world. . . . This Gulf is sixty leagues

[1] In composition Jagannath: hence our "Juggernaut" of evil fame, with the r of Maria-r.

from the Indus. Following the coast South-East you come to Diu.' The Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Kapudan ('Journ. Asiat.,' Série ix. 78) also says that when near Ras el-Hadd (Rasalgat) he was driven by the storms of six days to 'the Gulf of Chakad, near Sind, where are dangerous *gouffres*.[1] The man in the top recognised an idol-temple on the shore of Jamhír.'"[2]

We now run along the mouths of Indus, a stream mentioned in many places (i. 92 ; iv. 65, etc.), especially in D. Manoel's vision. The Poet knows that this Western boundary of India, the natural, not the "scientific frontier," that monster-growth of 1877–79, has its source at a small distance from the Ganges (iv. 69). The former rises north, and the latter south of the Himalayas. We then reach the "most fertile region, Ulcinde" (x. 106). This is evidently Sind ; perhaps with the Arabic article El- (es-) Sind. But Colonel Yule suspects that Camoens converted Diulcinde (Debal Sindi), which Barbosa (p. 49) places "entering the kingdom of Ulcinde," also called "Reyno de Diul," into D'Ulcinde.[3] The Portuguese were well acquainted with these parts. Correa (399) tells us

[1] The Ha-hiroth in Pi-ha-hiroth of the Exodus, *τὰ βάραθρα*.

[2] The pyramidal tower of the great Dwárka temple is seen far out at sea. I visited it in 1847, and noticed it in "Scinde or the Unhappy Valley" (i. 14). Possibly Jamhír may be a corruption of Jambu-dwipa, = India.

[3] Colonel Yule refers for Dewal and Sind to "The Tabikát" (etc., ii. 326) ; and for Diul and Diuli to the Turkish Admiral (loc. cit., Série, i. ix.), and extract from Von Hammer in "Journ. As. Soc., Bengal" (v. 463).

how D. Anrique (Henrique de Menezes) sent Christovam de Brito with a fleet to the "River of Dabul." Again, Pedro Barreto Rolim, by orders of Francisco Barreto (A.D. 1555–58) destroyed the city of "Tátá in Çinde." In my History of Sindh (pp. 15, 377–8) I identified the Greek Patala and the Moslem Debal-bandar with modern Thátha. Sir Walter Elliot to this preferred Karáchí, whose site is quite modern. Potála or Potálaya would mean the harbour: Patala is the realm of the Snake-gods, a kind of Hades (a-eides), the unseen, the hidden. So Hel, Hela, the infernal goddess from helje, to hide, named our Healey, Heligh, Hellifield, etc. This, perhaps, explains Palibothra (Pataliputta), which Rennell finds in a ruin near Patna, and Robertson in the Prayága (confluence) or Allahábád. In the "History of the Imams of Oman"[1] a curious error makes Diyul (p. 188) represent Debal-bandar in Sind; whilst Ed-Diyul (p. 88) is Diu Island off Cutch.

We now proceed to the second section, Camoens' geography of maritime Arabia and Persia. Of these coasts his campaigns with D. Fernando de Menezes (A.D. 1554–55) and D. Alvaro de Silveira (1560-61) enabled him to give an admirably realistic account. The ships sailing from Goa in the North-east monsoon (Oct. to May) would touch at Socotra (x. 136), about 150 miles

[1] A translation of the Arab Salih ibn Razik, by the Rev. G. Percy Badger (Hakluyt, MDCCCXXI). The position of "El-Daibul" (Debal-bandar) taken from Abulfeda's Takwím el-Buldan is correct, which makes the other error more astonishing.

north-east of Guardafui, in Azania, then as now famous for Sanguis Draconis and all manner of gums.[1] The island (80 × 20 miles) was inhabited during the days of Cosmas by Egyptian Greeks with Nestorian priests from Persia. M. Polo makes it an archbishopric, subject to a "Zalotia of Baldak" (Catholikos of Baghdad). When taken by Tristam da Cunha and Albuquerque in 1507 the people were "Moors of Fartaque" (Hadramis), who maltreated the Christians (circumcised Jacobites); and the women fought like the men: hence Barbosa's army of Amazons (p. 29).[2] Faria (y Sousa) says that it was subject to the "King of Caxem," or Shaykh of Keshin, a small district and town on the Mahrah shore; and the same is confirmed by Middleton and Lancaster's voyages (loc. cit., pp. 116, 165–66). The latter places the capital-village "Tamore" (Tamarida), near the Northern shore. All the Christians have now disappeared;

[1] The adjoining island (between Socotra and Guardafui) is called in the Commentaries (vol. ii. chap. liii.) Bedalcuria = Abd el-Khori = Slave of the Priest.

[2] The Commentaries (part I, chaps. xiv.–xvii.) show that the people were civilised. The town Çoko (Súk, the bazar) had extensive commerce with India and Africa; the "Moors" fought most gallantly in defence of their castle; they had portable firearms, and swords inscribed with "God help me" in Latin. Here Nuno Vaz de Castel-Branco distinguished himself; and both Tristam da Cunha and his son Nuno were knighted by Albuquerque. The conquerors built the fort of Sam Miguel, where D. Afonso de Noronha, a nephew of Albuquerque, was left as governor. Unfortunately missioners were also set to work, consequently the natives lost no time in revolting.

and the Arabs of the island and the coast have forgotten them. Lying on the great maritime highway, it was occupied by Bombay Sepoys during the Napoleonic wars; in 1834, the Shaykh of the uninteresting modern race refused to allow a coaling station; and in 1876 the authorities of Aden once more hoisted the British flag.

After Socotra the vessels would make "Arómata, by men hight Guardafui" (x. 97); the latter is a corruption of Jard (Bay) Háfún (Orfûn, Orfuni), from a break in the dreadful granitic wall, lately provided by Egypt with a lighthouse. The Poet describes it topographically (Cançam x.), beginning with:

> *Junto de hûm secco, duro, esteril monte,*[1] etc.
> (Hard by a sun-parcht, dure and sterile mount).

Eight lines further he tells us that the name "introduced by the vulgar,"

> *He Felix, por antifrase infelice,* etc.
> (Is Felix, infelicitous antiphrase).

The true name is Ras el-Fíl (Elephant's Head);[2] and the same, *pace* Gardner Wilkinson, appears in Elephan-

[1] "Monte" in Spanish is a tree-grown-hill: in Port. and Ital. (Monte Muliano) it nearly represents our "mount."

[2] Strabo mentions Mount Elephas (xvi. 4, § 14). The word elephant is derived from the Pali "Pilu"; the steps being Pil (Pers.), Fil and with the article El-Fil (Arab)., and the Greek eleph-as. Dictionaries give it from Aliph=bos, in *Hebrew* a mere Northern dialect of the great Arabic family.

tine and in Philæ Islands off El-Sowán (Assouan, Syene). I sketched the bit of islet rock from the sea Eastward ;[1] and the accidents of ground, with the aid of light and shade, make it resemble an Elephant couchant.

The Campaigner would then pass the "kingdom of dry Aden" (x. 99) in the Southermost of the threefold Arabies (iv. 63 ; x. 100), a Ptolemeian distribution immensely extended by the moderns.[2] The Arzira Mountain appears to be the grisly Jebel Shamsham, the apocryphal tomb of Cain, rising in hideous blackness behind the Aden cantonment, and correctly described as lacking rain (x. 99). The clouds, dispersed by the radiation of heat from the gloomy black walls of the extinct crater, sail high over it and break in floods upon the fertile highlands of inner Yemen. Barros (ii. 7, 8), to whom Colonel Yule refers me, thinks it may be the place which Ptolemy "calls Modocan" (Modoke-polis), and the "mountain above it, Cababarra (Katoubathra Oros), which the Moors name Darzira : it is one mass of live stone without tree or living herb ; and two to three years will pass without rain falling in that district. The city lies where this mountain slopes to the sea. Thus there are two ports. One is on the shore used by the city ; they term it Focáte (Arab. Hokkát, now Holket or Back Bay) ; and it is sheltered from some winds by a fronting islet named Lyra (read Syra), where

[1] "The Lake Regions," etc., ii. 384.

[2] The original limits are given in "The Gold-Mines of Midian" (chap. vii.). Eratosthenes, Strabo, Mela, and Pliny had only two Arabias, the Northern or Desert, and the Southern or Happy.

Cain lived.[1] The other, Uguf (Front Bay), is a manner of bight little used by ships, being a shallow sea-arm (*esteiro*)." Varthema informs us that Aden is the strongest city that ever was seen on level ground: Barbosa found it "very handsome." I need hardly enter into the history of a station so well known to Englishmen. Suffice it to say that this coal-hole of Arabia is one of the eternal cities of the East, marked, like Damascus, for perpetual revival.

Camoens then enters the Mare Rubrum; and, following the classics, he explains its hue by the ruddy madrepores of the floor (x. 97). "It is to be understood," bluntly says Varthema, "that this sea is not red." I have proposed a philological theory, based upon the fact that men ever attempt to make unknown words significant. Mythical King Erythras and his sea, the Persian Gulf, were the normal translations of the native names, Phœnicia and Erythræa both meaning red. The Hebrews called the northern part of the Arabian Gulf "Yamm Edom," sea of Idumæa, or Red-land; not Yamm Súf, sea of weeds or papyrus, which applies to another feature.[2]

[1] In 1516 Lopo Soares de Albergaria occupied Sírah Island, repaired the old works on the summit, and built the surrounding wall, which was visible when we first occupied Aden. In Lancaster's Voyages (p. 167) Sírah is made a high rock, somewhat larger than the *towne* of London: this must be an error for "Tower."

[2] As is now well known, Brugsch Bey (Geschichte Aegyptens) transfers the name to "that Serbonian bog" of Milton. The great Egyptologue is attacked by the Rev. Greville J. Chester, "A Journey to the Biblical Sites in Lower Egypt" (Palestine Explora-

Himyar and Ophir, like Edom, also signify red, and "Sea of Himyar" would be applied to the southern section; hence the ancient Egyptians, like Herodotus, ignored the term "Red Sea" for the Sinus Arabicus; and called the great fracture "Sekot," or the surrounder.

Running up the eastern coast Camoens notices the red Arabian shore (x. 50), with its brown and vagueing Bedawin (x. 100), composed of *Nomades et Urbani* (Badu and Hazar). He names successively Gidá (ix. 3; x. 99), properly Juddah now Jéddah, "grandmother's town," from the comparatively modern grave of Eve; and Meca (Meccah, ix. 2), the birthplace of the Apostle of Allah, with its "holy water," the well Zemzem, which a late translater turns into a stream; while the exact Barbosa (p. 23) notices the bottling still practised. "Abominable Medina" (x. 50) is so entitled because Mohammed was buried in it—a fact unknown to Albuquerque, and to a modern editor of Maundevile. The next site is Nabathæa, twice mentioned (i. 84; iv. 63): the references to these splendid ranges of granite, quartz and sandstone, which the Poet probably saw, are highly

tion Fund, July 1880), who found Serbonitis salt, and consequently without papyrus. His paper is a marvellous specimen of inconsequences, never taking into account the changes of ground during the last 3,000 years: this assault of a dwarf upon a giant, a model of one-sided pleading, only confirms our belief in Brugsch. Evidently an Eastern offset from the Pelusiac branch (mentioned by Lucan) would suffice for the growth of papyrus.

poetic.[1] Then comes Tor-harbour (Toro, x. 99), the Phœnician Tzur, a Tyre, a high place, like "turris" and its many derivations: even "Syria" is only a Greek congener of "Tyria." From Tor the early Portuguese pilgrims visited, and still visit, Saint Catherine[2] on the

[1] I have described the Highlands in "The Gold Mines of Midian" and in "Midian Revisited" (passim).

[2] Saint Catherine of Alexandria, virgin and martyr, was a learned and argumentative lady, who is said to have converted many pagan philosophers, and who suffered in the flesh accordingly. Under Maximianus (circ. A.D. 306) she was broken upon a wheel: when her head was struck off, milk flowed instead of blood. Having prayed that her body might not be exposed to insult, it was carried by angels to the convent of Saint Helena on Jebel Musa ("Mount Sinai"), which a forged inscription attributes to Justinian (A.D. 527–565), when it was built by the Egyptian Greeks about A.D. 1172 (=A.H. 550). The Catherine legend seems to date from the eighth century: in A.D. 1063 it became widely spread, a military order bearing the saint's name having been instituted to defend pilgrims. About this time the silver bier was given for the remains which, in those days, still sweated milk: similarly one of the miracula Sancti Johannis (Saint John of Beverley) was the distillation of holy oil. Saint Catherine is popularly known in a mundane way. In heraldry her wheel (gules) has eight spokes, and a corresponding number of iron spikes, or rather hooks. It has been converted into a firework, which holds high rank among the squibs. *Coiffer Sainte Catherine* has come to mean an old maid, from a frolic and a fête long kept in France. Finally her anniversary was observed with great ceremony at Old Goa. Our clerical veneration for her and other "holy virgins" is in contrast to the Malabar Nayr, who, says Barbosa (p. 133), "have a belief that the woman who dies a virgin does not go to heaven." And even in England there is an old saw about their leading apes elsewhere.

apocryphal Mount Sinai. A few words concerning this site will notbe misplaced.

A reviewer remarks, "The theory" (that Serbal is Mount Sinai) "has much more to recommend it to modern acceptance than Captain Burton seems to allow."[1] Yet his only authorities are Bishop Eusebius of Cæsarea, who, in A.D. 313, preached the first sermon at the re-dedication of the Tyre Cathedral; St. Jerome (nat. circ. A.D. 340); and Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote much bad geography and history in A.D. 550. I need hardly repeat the self-evident details that the Hebrews would perforce follow the modern Hajj-route from the parallel of Suez to El-Akabah; that Sinai was a holy site amongst the ancient Egyptians; that in the days of the Jewish kingdom no Jew ever visited it except Elijah; and that it is mentioned by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1168) as a Syro-Christian, not a Jewish, place of worship. Indeed, the ancient Hebrews seem to have been uncertain about the true site of their Mountain of the Law. Josephus (A. J., viii. 13, 7) placing Horeb and Sinai in the direction of Edom, or East of the Wady el-Arabah, describes it

[1] "Examiner," May 3, '79.—A literature is growing around Mount Sinai. Besides, my late friend, Dr. Charles Beke ("Sinai in Arabia"), we have the translation of Brugsch Bey's "History of Egypt," by Henry Danby Seymour and Philip Smith, London, Murray, 1879: it has reached a second edition. In the same year appeared "The Hebrew Migration from Egypt" (London, Trübner), a most able anonymous essay. Prof. Palmer ("The Desert of the Exodus") has, I believe, given up Mount Sinai as far as he can.

mythologically, and certainly with none of the features of Coptic Serbal or Greek Jebel Musa. St. Paul, his contemporary, disposes "Mount Sinai in Arabia," that is, East of the meridian of the Jordan. Eusebius (Eccles. Hist.) locates Horeb in Midian, and Sinai near it. In the same century St. Jerome (Monast. s. v. Choreb) identifies Horeb and Sinai in Midian; but knows no more. Local tradition, Christian and Moslem, is absolutely valueless: there was no organised monasticism in the Church before A.D. 350, when arose the imitation of the old heathen *ἐγκεκλεισμένοι*. Much more might be said upon the subject did space permit. Briefly, so great and especially so probable a correction has not yet been accepted; but *veritas prevalet et obtinet in sæcula sæculorum*.

Camoens, after the fashion of his day, which thought very little about geological changes, places the passage of Moses (Osarsiph) at the present head of the Red Sea (iv. 63; x. 98), a growth of later years. His information concerning Arsinoë and the City of Heroes (ix. 2; x. 98) would be new to ninety per cent. of the "Overlanders," who now hurry past Suez. The beautiful profile of the sister-wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus is shown by many medals; and the city named from her has been successfully identified by my old friend, Mr. Consul West, with the ruined heaps to the north of the present town. Heroöpolis is probably Har-An, lord of An, the Blackland, a title of Atum: the site is still undetermined. Some have placed it around Fort El-

Ajrúd, where, however, there are no signs of ruins. Others east of the Canal Mouth, and believe it to have been about one hour and thirty minutes' walk West of Suez, near a site called "The Reservoirs" (Hydrographic Chart), where Napoleon Buonaparte is said to have thrown up field-works. The shallowing of the sea would render useless the roadstead which Strabo (xvii. 3, 20) places "in the recess of the Arabian Gulf"; and would transfer the port-town to Arsinoë.

Rounding the Gulf-head our campaigner follows its western shore. He notes the various places opened by Sequeira; (x. 52, 97) rainless Maçuá (Maṣawwah) with her tanks; Suanquem (Suakin opposite Jeddah), "the settlements," governed in Ibn Batûtah's time by the Amir of Meccah; and Port Arquico (Arkiko, Barbosa's Delaqua, and Milton's Ercoco) lying by its side. England knows them chiefly by that regretable missionary war which ended in the destruction of unfortunate King Theodore. They were presently beset by the Emperor Johannes of Abyssinia, who wanted a settlement on the seaboard, where he could sell and buy goods without *avanies:* he was kept at bay by Egypt, who knew that the chief imports would be arms and ammunition.

Further inland Camoens is at home amongst his classics (x. 52) in the "Nide of Candace and of Sabá" (she of Sheba).[1] He calls the land Abassia," nearer than

[1] Gen. x. mentions Sabá the son of Cush and Sheba the son of Joktan: the Greeks, having no *sh*-sound, readily confused them.

our "Abyssinia" to the Semitic Habesh, or "riff-raff," a term fitly applied to the ruffian population. Barbosa (p. 19) tells us that the Christians of the Kingdom of Prester John follow the doctrine of the blessed Saint Bartholomew. "Habesh," not Abyssinia, is divided into two halves; the North is Gallo-Christian and the South is Gallo-Moslem, including Áfar (which named "Africa"), Dankali-land, Harar and Somáli-land. The Poet subsequently refers to Meroë, the country, not the capital (near the modern Dankalah or Dongola), saying that Africans call it Nobá (x. 95). It is the "Doab," shaped "like an oblong shield" (Strabo, xvi.) between the Nile and the Tacazze, or rather the Nile of the Axumites, Astaboras,[1] Atbara or Black River; and the Astapus or Bahr el-Azrak, the Blue River. In the Cuneiforms it is called Me-luh-ha and Me-luh-hi according to Brugsch (ii. 255–65), whom Lenormant refutes. The Greeks derived the name of this motherland of Egypt from Cambyses' sister, and visited it for the Oracle of Ammon. Some prolonged the Meroë of Herodotus and of P. Mela, who tried to systematise African geography, into its

Sabá in Southern Arabia had for capital Maryab that contained Zu-Raydún, the royal palace. It was near Zofár (Sephar, Mount of the East: Gen. x.; Tobit xii. 15).

[1] Dr. Beke first suggested (loc. cit., p. 50) that the prefix "Ast'," also in Ast'apus (Abai or Blue River), and Ast'asobas (Sobat, from Soba, the ancient name of Khartum), means simply "river." I commend this to the author of "The Scientific Value of Tradition" (London, Pickering, 1879). "Barat" and "Atbar" (p. 164) cannot be cognates.

Southern neighbour Sennár (vulg. Sennaar) or "Water-island,"[1] bounded by the Nile and the Blue River. Hence, the accounts of its twenty cities, its 250,000 warriors, and its 400,000 artisans are not wholly incredible. The capital and royal residence of Æthiopia (Ethaush or Ethosh), Napata (Ne-pet),[2] now a ruin near the holy Jebel Barkal, has lately produced inscriptions in an alphabet unknown to my learned friend Brugsch-Pasha. Nobá is Nubia, derived from the Egyptian Núb, gold, whose hieroglyph is a straining-cloth over a washing-bowl.

At the S. Western extremity of the Red Sea Camoens (x. 50) touches upon the Barbarica Regio. Ibn Batutah explains this term (chap. ix.) by making the Somal race Moslem (Shafei) Berbers from the Sudan or Upper Egypt, beginning at Zayla' and ending at Makdishu. Hence some have found the Avalitæ of Ptolemy and the Avalites of the Periplus in the Habr-Awal savages. Camoens' Barbora is Varthema's Barbara, which he terms an island—insula for peninsula; and Vincent (Periplus) identifies it with Mosyllon. Barbosa (p. 18) places this Barr-i-Ajan (Azania) too far north. Zayla' or Zeila', in which Vincent finds Moondus and popular opinion Mosyllon, is El-Idrisi's Zálegh, a clerical error. Ibn Batutah alludes to its filth, and Varthema calls it (p. 86)

[1] Essí (=water) —en or n (of) and arti (Island).

[2] Brugsch, i. 283; 436. Strabo (xvi.) calls it "sacred," and it is so termed in the hieroglyphs. The name is popularly derived from N-ape-t (of Tape or Thebes).

a place of great traffic. These towns, together with Harar, made famous by the death of Christovam da Gama in 1541 (chap. iii. s. 3), were described by me when they lay under the Pashalik of Hodaydah.[1] They have since passed into the power of Egypt; and ugly stories are told concerning the treacherous murder of the Amir.

When Camoens accompanied Menezes, that Commander, fearing the winter storms which had destroyed Sodré's fleet, left some light vessels, at the straits of the Red Sea, to await the rich galleons of Acheh and Calicut; and in April ran up the Eastern Coast of Arabia for Hormuz. Here our Poet is minutely correct. He notes the odoriferous shores — mittunt sua thura Sabæi—in the Country of Frankincense, not "incense," which is a compound. Cape "Fartaque" (x. 100), or Fartak, that means pounding or powdering, is the Syagros Promontorium, the first land usually sighted by Indian ships making these ports, and Dr. Carter declares it "the most striking on the S. Eastern Coast of Arabia." The "ancient Fartaque City" is probably Sayhút or Sayhúd near the Moscha-Limen of Ptolemy and the Periplus. "Insign Dofar," the Zafár of Ibn Batutah,[2] is the classical harbour whence the gum was sent overland to the Mediterranean; and it applies to the whole district, a fertile region with five towns clus-

[1] "First Footsteps in East Africa," chap. i.

[2] There were two places of almost similar name ("The Gold Mines of Midian," p. 259).

tering round the ruins of an old port described by my friend, Dr. Carter, under the name of El-Balad.[1] The Coast is now divided between the Nakíb of Makallah and the Jemadar of Shahr. Hence we make Roçal-gate (x. 101), the Ras el-Hadd, or Boundary Head, Korodamon Akron, with the Oracle of Diana, that forms the S. Western limit of the Sea of 'Amman (Oman). To the North of it lies Sur (the Cor of Barbosa (p. 32), the once flourishing port of Ja'alán, which still shows Portuguese ruins. Twenty leagues N. West of Sur is Kalhát, the Κολαίος of the Periplus and the Calaiti of M. Polo, who tells us that the gulf of that name was under the "Melich of Ormuz": this Calayate (x. 41), a "city as large as Santarem," was burnt by Albuquerque in 1507; and its ruins are described by Wellsted (i. 4). Ten leagues beyond is Coriate, or Curiate; the Arab. Kariyát (the villages), a "large straggling town" also fired by Albuquerque. In connexion with this place The Lusiads mentions Mascate (Maskat), the chief-harbour city of Oman, subject to Hormuz: its subsequent connexion with the Portuguese is well known.

Beyond Maskat lies Soar (Barbosa's Sohar), "a large and very beautiful town," backed by a Peak 1680 feet high: its square fort was strengthened by the Europeans; and, next to Maskat, it is still the largest port-settlement.[2]

[1] Journ. R. Geog. Soc., vol. xvi. See also Prof. Sprenger's invaluable "Alte Geographie Arabiens."

[2] Palgrave's Central and Eastern Arabia, ii. 332–3. Barbosa

Passing Orfacate, twelve leagues from Soar, the modern Khor Fakán, and Barbosa's "Corfasan," we arrive (x. 102) at "Cape Asaboro, now called Moçandam" (Masandum). The first name is probably an oversight for Asabōn (Akron = Point of the Asaboi), a supposed corruption of (Jebel) Aswad, the Black Mountain. Its peaked point fronts Hormuz Island, and parts the Sea of Oman from its Western prolongation, the Persian Gulf. This old Sea of Erythras is called by Camoens "the Lake" (x. 102), where Tigris and Euphrates enter by a single mouth. He is acquainted with the site of Babel or Babylon, near the confluence of those streams (iv. 64). An allusion in the same stanza suggests that he placed their sources in the vulgar Ararat of our day,[1] the invention of Saint Jerome, and the mythical mountain of Maundevile (chap. xiii.), who naïvely says, "Of Paradise I cannot speak properly, for I was not there" (chap. xxx.). Only of late years the landing-place of "Noah's Ark" has been shifted to the Koranic "Jibál el-Judy," popularly pronounced El-Jedy, the "Kid Mountains": they are the Syrian "Kurdu," the Montes

(pp. 28–37) is very copious in the names of settlements upon this coast.

[1] The Ararat of Genesis (viii. 4) is probably the Urarda or Urartha of the Babylonian Cuneiforms; hence the Alarodians of Herodotus (iii. 94, etc.), who ignores Armenia (Har Minni), the mountains of the Minni. Amongst the classics Armenus was one of the Argonauts. St. Jerome is the first Western author who identifies the Scriptural Hari Ararat with the giant peak on the Araxes, now known as the Agri Dagh.

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Gordæi, part of the Masius range; and here the natives still show the place where a certain unfortunate vineyard was planted. Ibn Batutah (chap. vii.) declares that the Mosque of Cufa shelters the site in which Noah warmed himself after "the Deluge." Camoens does not name Baghdad; but he must have heard of the splendid seat of the Caliphat, which has given several popular names to Europe.[1]

Our Poet is acquainted with the great Islands of the Persian Gulf.[2] He twice mentions the rich tribute of Barem (x. 41, 103), whose pearls are also alluded to in the two stanzas. The Romans seem to have valued the gem more than all others. "El-Bahrayn" always has the article, meaning "*the* two-sea-island," of the Persian Gulf and its own bay, thus being a Τόπος διθάλασσος. It is the Tyros of Strabo (i. 2, 35; xvi. 3, 4) and Arrian; the Tyle of Pliny (iv. 36) and Justin (xviii. 3, 2); and the Tylos of Ptolemy (vi. 7, 47). Dr. Oppert reads as Tilvun, the Nituh or Nitukhi (Tyros) of the Sumerian Cuneiforms: Prof. Sayce prefers Dil-vun and questions the identification. Strabo places near his Tyros, a

[1] "Taffety" and "Tabby," from the weavers' quarter, El-Atab; and "Baldacchino" and "Baldaquin," from a rich embroidered cloth made in the Baldacca. So "fustian" (fostagna) is from Fostat (leather tents), or Old Cairo; and "Gauze," from Gaza or Ghazzah.

[2] Barbosa (p. 37) gives a list of twelve islands, among which are Queximi (Khishm), and Baharem (El-Bahrayn). The Commentaries of Alboquerque (part I. chap. xxviii.–xxx.) describe them, and give a plan of Hormuz, Larequa (Lárak) and Queixome.

fortified Island, Arad or Arada (El-Muharrah, one of the Bahrayn Islands), the old home of the Phœnicians: hence the Tyre and Aradus of the Levant, not so called from the sea-springs mentioned by Pliny. Ibn Batutah (Lee, 65) considers the pearl to be hardened flesh, whereas Moslems generally opine that it is a raindrop of water from heaven: he also asserts that the divers remain a whole hour under water. Varthema and Barbosa give a more realistic description. El-Bahrayn, with its chief port, Menamah, may contain 25,000 souls, and belongs to Oman, not to El-Hasa. Near it Chesney ("Euphrates Expedition," i. 646) found a peculiar coast-people, apparently the Zott, Yue-chi, Getæ, Goths, Jats, or Gypsies.

The more celebrated of the two Islands[1] is, or rather was, Hormuz, with whose history Camoens shows himself well acquainted. The Hármouza-pólis of Ptolemy (vi. 8, 5), and the Latin Armuza and Armuzia are probably derived from Hormuz (Auramazda), the Good God of Guebrism. Maundevile (chap. xxvii.) opines that it was so called because "Hermes the Philosopher founded it." The Kingdom of Hormuz once extended along the seashore of Persia westward almost as far as Basrah (Bassora); and its capital occupied the site of

[1] Camoens does not notice the much larger island of Khishm or Jishm, the Queixome of the Portuguese, and the Varukta or Vorochta of Nearchus. In the "Introduction to the History of the Imams of Maskat" (pp. 3–4), we find it confused with the islet of Kesh or Kenn.

Bandar Abbas. Ibn Haukal, at the end of the tenth century, calls it the Emporium of the East: it is apparently the Nekrokis of Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1164), and Ibn Batutah (Lee, p. 63) speaks of Hormuz on the seashore and New Hormuz, alias Harouna, on the islet. As Abulfeda notices, when Hormuza antiqua was reduced by Tartar incursions (of the Seljuki Princes) to a miserable village, the trade was transferred to the neighbouring island of Zarun, the Jerrún of Abd el-Razzák and the Gerum of Camoens (x. 41, 103). M. Polo (i. 16, 64) describes New Hormuz as a handsome city under a Malik, or Arab Lord of the Marches whom Varthema dubs a Sultan and the Decades a Guazil (Wazír). Barbosa (p. 38) places it under Xeque Yzmael,[1] alias Shah Ismail of Persia. It surrendered to Albuquerque in 1508 and presently rose to its highest splendour: the popular saying was, "If Hormuz be not Heaven, 'tis next door to Heaven"; and—

> Si terrarum orbis quaqua patet annulus esset,
> Illius Ormuzium gemma decusque foret.

The Island, a rough circle of trachytic grit, about four miles in diameter and four to five direct miles from the mainland, had little to recommend it. Ralph Fitche (1583) says, "Nothing grows on it but only salt." Sir Thomas Herbert (1626), who makes the city once as big as Exeter, adds, "the Island procreates nothing note-

[1] This name often appears in the Commentaries of Alboquerque, but apparently it is not recognised by the translator.

worthy, salt excepted, of which the rocks are participant, and the silver-shining sand expresseth sulphur." Ibn Batutah also mentions the "hills of Daráni Salt" like those of Dárá (?) near Damascus. These are the Salt Mountains of Camoens (x. 40) which were insufficient to pickle the dead: they are fantastic hillocks sometimes 400 feet high. The town was about three miles in circumference, and the remains of cisterns and reservoirs, now used as vegetable gardens, were built with a mortar more durable than stone. Hormuz had, moreover, some "beautiful Palaces" (Barbosa, p. 44);[1] especially the Turun-bágh, tenement, fort and treasury.

But insular depôts, like Tyre, Cyprus, Aradus, Malta, Zanzibar, the Kassiterides, and others, though highly prized by semi-barbarians, become worse than useless in civilised days. Hormuz gradually declined by the transfer of trade and the fall of the Portuguese. In 1622 it was taken by Shah Abbas with the aid of the old "Company's Marine"; and on this occasion Baffin, of Baffin's Bay, who acted as pilot, was killed. Sir John Malcolm ("Hist. of Persia," i. 547) severely and justly condemns the conduct of his countrymen. The Persian Conqueror destroyed the fine fortifications, the Church, and the Chapel of Santa Lucia: he then transferred the seat of trade to Gamrún (Gombaroon), on the mainland, distant eleven or twelve miles, and named it Bandar

[1] Barbosa's account (pp. 41–49), including the murder of the Governor, Rais Hamid, by the Portuguese, in presence of Albuquerque and the "blinded Kings," is well worth reading.

Abbas. Hormuz, together with the strip of coast containing the Bandar, Mina and other ports, is now farmed, from the Shah, by the Sayyid of Maskat who annually pays for it 16,000 tomans (= £7,600). The Arab garrison of a hundred men holds the quadrilateral, bastioned, and crumbling fort; and a few score of semi-savages dwell in the adjoining hovels. "Heaven" is now all barren, showing only a few crumbling walls upon a torrid rock washed by a tepid sea. But it will live for ever in Milton's line:—

> High on a throne of royal state, which far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind[1]
> ii. 1–2.

Camoens well describes the Persians of his day as a race of horsemen, with a knightly contempt for villainous saltpetre (x. 103). Herodotus (ix. 62) made them equal to the Greeks in courage, and Varthema,[2] like the "Commentaries," says of them:—"These Persians are

[1] For a detailed description of modern Hormuz, see the paper of Lt. W. Stiffe, J. N. (1873), quoted by Lieut. Low, I.N., in his valuable "History of the Indian Navy," vol. i. pp. 31, 45.

[2] This admirable traveller shows his perspicacity where others pass blindfold. The Persian is, perhaps, the purest of Aryan races, equally noble in physique and in the operation of the brain, called mind. He has produced a marvellous literature; and every few centuries he produces some typical man who towers high above the crowd: the last was Nadir Shah. His intellect is penetrating as the Greek's. His conversation is brilliant as a Parisian's. Almost every shopkeeper in Shiraz can tell a true from a forged verse of

the most cunning men in intellect, . . . and I will likewise say of them that they are the best companions and the most liberal of any men that inhabit the Earth." The Poet rightly applies the term "Parsees" to the people of Fars (of old Parsá),[1] Párs, or the Southern Province; whence Persæ, Persians. We now limit "Parsee" to the fugitives who have preserved the Zoroastrian belief. His Lárá is a paragoge for Lár, then the flourishing capital of the Atabeks, or district-governors of Laristan: the Lúr of Ibn Batutah (chap. vii.) is apparently a clerical confusion. He notices the thoroughbred Arab, the Kohlání (collyrium-eyed) breed, Nejdi and Anazah (x. 100): the noble blood once imported into India viâ Maskat and Hormuz, is now degenerated to the Gulf-Arab mongrel banished to Bombay. In Barbosa's day (pp. 76 and 89) the animals cost from 300 to 1,000 ducats. He then runs by "Cape Jasque (Jask), formerly called Carpella," the Bardis of Arrian; and contrasts its barrenness with the abundant lands of Persia. Follow Carmánia (iv. 15) or Kirmán, not to be confounded with Caramania (of old Cilicia); and Gedrosia (x. 105), the latter represented by desolate Mekrán. This word may come from the Mycians or Mecians of Herodotus (iii. 93), the Makas of the inscriptions and the Oretæ or Oritæ of Lucan (iii. 249):

Hafiz or Ferdausi: when will the British bourgeois be able to do the same for Chaucer and Shakespeare?

[1] Pársa (Persia) is in the Behistun trilingual inscription of Dáryavush (Darius), B.C. 516.

it is popularly derived from Máhí-khoran, fish-eaters, ichthyophagi. Barbosa (p. 49) here mentions the Icelandic practice of feeding horses with dried fish. Finally he reaches Sind, where we have seen him before.

Our last notice of Camoens in the nearer East will be of his return-voyage to Portugal. From India the first landfall would be amongst the scraps of coralline islet, some of them the sites of large settlements, which fringe the coast of Southern Somali-land and the Northern Sawáhil (Zanzibar). He mentions (x. 39) the cities of Lamo, Oja, and Brava[1]; and alludes (x. 104) to Ampaza, taken by Pedro de Sousa. The commentators have made havoc with the latter place: some (*e.g.* Duff) call it a "city of Persia near Hormuz," thus confounding it with Bandar Abbas. Millié (x. note 37) observes that the name is not on the charts, and that it has erroneously been held the chief town of the Ampatres, whom Baudrand's Dictionary locates in Madagascar. According to J. dos Santos (iii. 3) it is one of the towns of Lamo Island. Both he and Couto (x. 9, 1) relate its capture under D. Duarte de Menezes; when the Portuguese terribly revenged the murder of R. de Brito, slaying even animals in their fury; and felling 8,000 palm-trees, an act of war forbidden to the Hebrews (Deut. xx. 19) and to the Hindús (Menu, viii. 285). Lindschoten's map shows Ampaza north of Pate (compare Barbosa,

[1] They are noticed in my book on "Zanzibar," etc. Appendix iii.

p. 15). Camoens passes, without naming Zanzibar; but twice alludes to ambergris, which our translators will convert to "amber," cast upon her coast. In those days being a mystery it was held a panacea and highly valued: it is now known to be a bezoar[1]-like calculus found in the intestines of the cachelot-whale. In Europe it is not used as a scent; but mixed with others it heightens their perfume. Amongst Orientals it is one of the long list of aphrodisiacs: a small hollow is worked in the cup and, when coffee is poured in, the oily substance floats upon the surface.

In Southern Zanzibar Camoens names the "Rapto rio,[2] which the natives call Oby, and which enters in Quilmance." Some geographers consider the couplet (x. 96) an allusion to the great Zambeze, already termed the Cuama (x. 93): I have shown that it is the Rufiji or Lufiji. "Oby" (Obi) here is a mere error. Webbe, in the Somali tongue meaning a river, applies par excellence to the Webbe Shebayli, or Nile of Makdishu, our Haines River, a neighbour of the Juba, Govind, or Rogues River; but the word is unknown to Zanzibar. Quilmance (Kilimá-mansi[3] =

[1] The "Pajar-stone" of Barbosa (p. 101) is corrupted Persian "Pazahr."

[2] Some editions erroneously write rapto rio without the initial capital.

[3] Mansi = Máji (water) in Kisawahili or Zanzibarian; the "mountain-stream" of Dr. Krapf, which is not admissible: it would mean the mountain of the water, not the water of the mountain ("Zanzibar," etc., i. 31).

mount-water) is not the same as Quillimane (Kilima-ni) = in or from the mount.

Camoens had time to study the Caffre race, of whose branch, the Wamakua, Varthema gives a graphic description. The vulgar term "Kafir" (= non-Moslem), applied by Maroccans to their heathen neighbours, was carried by the Portuguese to The Cape. A German traveller would supplant it by the inadequate Bantú, meaning "men" in one dialect only. I have proposed to call "South African" the great family of languages, which, differing in grammar, vocabulary, and euphony from all others, extends from Cape Agulhas to North of the Equator, including Fernam de Pó and the Aka-pygmies.[1] Thus with the American and the recognised divisions, we should number five instead of three. Perhaps the purest form of this South African family, which changes the beginnings, not the ends of words, is that of the Zulus, properly Amazulu, of whom we lately have heard so much. The tribe was first organised by Cháká, who, like Mohammed Ali of Egypt, confessedly imitated Napoleon Buonaparte.

Here also Camoens would hear of the "great empire

[1] I have translated the Aka Grammar and Vocabulary of my friend the Abbé Beltrame, of Verona, who travelled long about Khartúm: the Pygmies are distinctly South-African. In Kisawahili, Bantu would be wátu, plur. of mtu, man.; ama (e.g. Ama-zulu), is the plur. form = wá (zulu) in Kisawahili. I marvel to see Mr. Max Müller ("Science of Religion," p. 160) still reducing all the great families of speech to two or three, probably because Noah had that number of sons.

of the Benomotápa" (x. 93), Barbosa's Benamatapa and Zimbaoch (Zumbi?): it is properly Mono-mtapa, from Mwáná (mwene, &c., a lord) and Mtapa (P. N. of a chief). Unyamwezi, or Moon-land, was probably an outlier of this great negro despotism, which could muster 6,000 "Amazons": the people preserve a tradition that the now-scattered tribes once had a Kaiserzeit and a negro Hohenstaufen. "Monomotapa" is familiar to Europe. According to M. Deloncle it was first visited (fourteenth century) by eight Dominican Friars from Montpelier, who (A.D. 1317) ascending the Nile beyond the limits of Abyssinia reached "Ouquemba": this point he would identify with the well-known Uganda. Thence the Religious travelled to the city and grand Empire of Monomotapa, ending at the Zambeze, in A.D. 1537. The exploration would be highly interesting if true; but it reads like a bit of Defoe's "Captain Singleton." The French have already put forth a doubtful claim to the discovery of the Guinea Coast by a Company of Dieppe traders in A.D. 1364–1413.[1] The earliest details concerning Uganda were brought home by my Expedition of 1856–59;[2] and the country was

[1] I have noticed it, and given the Portuguese side of the question, with some detail, in "Wanderings in West Africa," ii. chap. 7.

[2] Journ. R. Geog. Soc. for 1860, chap. x., "On the Northern Kingdoms, Karagwah, Uganda, and Unyoro." Africa begins to move. Within a score of years after I had "discovered" him, the King had become a Moslem and a Christian; applied for missionaries, and sent an "Embassy" to England.

first actually explored by Captains Speke and Grant in 1859–63.

At Mozambique Camoens would find trusty details concerning Sofálah and the stout Castilian, Pero de Naya (Nhaia, x. 94). This navigator was sent out in A.D. 1505 (May 18) by D. Manoel[1] to open communication with the "Quitiva" (King) of Sofálah. He built a fort, and his garrison of thirty-five to forty men repelled an attack of 6,000 Caffres (Barros, i. 10, 3), an exploit worthy of Camoens' song. Sofálah is the Arabic Saflá, low (ground, &c.): Milton accentuated it "Sófala thought Ophir"; Fanshaw and Mickle have "Sofála's battered fort": the former being wrong and the latter nearly but not quite right.

In the Mozambique Camoens lost a friend and an enemy. His fellow-passenger, Fr. Gonçalo, tenth son of the Conde de Sortilha, was sent fourteen years after the establishment of the Jesuits, to missionarise Eastward, and became Provincial of Goa in 1556. After baptising many on the Western Coast, he was changed (1560) from the Indian field to Caffraria. He began well, and succeeded in converting the "King of Monomotapa, the Queen-mother, and a host of Kafirs." According to Tellez, the "Moors" spread a report that baptism was a magical rite intended to ruin the country;[2] and

[1] J. dos Santos (i. chap. 2) declares that Naya was sent by "D. Catalina" (Catherine, Queen of D. Joam III.): the statement cannot be correct.

[2] P. Balthazar, Chronica da Companhia de Jesu (ii. 4, 37). He

obtained leave to strangle the stranger during his sleep (1561). The corpse was thrown into a lakelet drained by the Rio Mossenguese: when it floated ashore lions and tigers (?) formed a body-guard; birds sang hymns, and supernatural lights flashed through the air. Camoens dearly loved the Jesuit Gonçalo, and mentions him (x. 93) when he ignores D. Francisco Xavier.

The enemy was Francisco Barreto, who, we have seen, left the Government of Goa in 1558. Sent to reduce Monomotapa, and to annex the gold-mines of Macoronga, he was set upon at Chico by 4,000 Caffres. He defended himself valiantly; but was at last compelled to sally out, when he and his were all slain.[1]

During a forced detention at Mozambique Camoens would hear many reports of the vast inland lakes and swamps whence it was supposed the Nile, the Zaïre, and the Zambeze arise. It is doubtful where our Poet would place the Nile Sources. While some of his day made "Ararat" their birthplace, Ariosto (xxxiii. 109–10) derived them from the Earthly Paradise, whose mountains have been found in Karagwah, Kenia and Kilimanjaro: in another stanza (xxxiv. 126) he thus modifies his words:—

> Nor light until they reach that loftiest mountain,
> Where springs, if anywhere, Nile's secret fountain.

also abridged the "Historia Geral de Etiopia," of the Jesuit, Manoel d'Almeyda (Coimbra, 1660).

[1] The event is related by Joam dos Santos, who calls the governor Baretto (iii. 3).

Camoens halts between two theories, the old and new, the Ptolemeian and the Portuguese. In one important passage (x. 93) he makes a single lake in Benomotapa (Mwene-mtapa) discharge northwards the Nile, and southwards the Cuama or Zambeze. Subsequently (x. 95) he speaks of the (Ptolemeian) "lakes," where the Nile is born: here he connects the stream with Abyssinia, doubtless by the "Takazze,"[1] Bahr el-Azrak or "Blue River," which Bruce, for personal reasons, perverted to "Blue Nile."

From the information of Diogenes the Pilot, the first to float down the true Nile, Ptolemy placed the two (and more?) huge reservoirs draining his "Mountains of the Moon" in S. Lat. 12° 30′. Reducing this figure, for reasons before given, to S. Lat. 6° and 7′, we are upon the Southern watershed of *the* Nyanza (Victoria Nyanza) and the Mwutan or Luta-nzige (dead locust or Albert Nyanza), which Mr. Stanley has lately split into two. I am compelled formally to abandon a favourite theory, that the Tanganyika drained to the Nile basin viâ the Luta-nzige: the absence of a channel has been proved by Colonel Mason, and its drain to the Congo Basin, the Lukuga river, has been visited and satisfactorily laid down by Messrs. Cameron, Hore and Thomson.[2] Thus

[1] "Tákazye" in Ghíz (old Ethiopic) meant simply "river." Hence in the Abyssinian version, the Pelusiac Nile-branch, whose waters were "turned into blood" by Moses, is called Tákazye.

[2] For many years the connexion between the Tanganyika and the Luta-nzige, whose levels are about the same, was a disputed

the Tanganyika becomes the head-reservoir not of the Nile, but of the mighty Congo.

The two Ptolemeian Lakes, Nyanza and Mwutan or Luta-nzige, remained on maps; and I have often been naïvely assured that the Lake Region of Central Africa was well known to exist. They appear in Ben Musa (A.D. 833), in El-Idrisi (A.D. 1154), and little changed, in Sanudo (1320). But presently mediæval exploration and hearsay details began to vitiate Ptolemy. Andrea Bianchi, of Venice (1436) deletes the Red Sea; and, with Sir J. Maundevile, makes the Nile rise in Tartary,

point. Sir Samuel Baker had heard of canoes passing from one water to the other. Mr. Henry M. Stanley had inspected the northern shores of the Tanganyika, and crossed an *influent*, not an effluent. Presently Commander Cameron, R.N. (1874) discovered the mouth of the Lukuga which drains the Tanganyika to the Congo basin; he was followed by Mr. Stanley; and in 1879 by Mr. E. C. Hore, lay-agent of the London Missionary Society, who found the stream unobstructed. In 1877, Colonel Mason, an American (Virginian) officer in the service of Egypt, under Colonel Gordon Pasha, Governor-General of the Equator, circumnavigated the Luta-nzige; and confirmed the report of a predecessor, Sig. Gessi (afterwards Gessi Pasha, and now no more), namely, that it had no southern influent, and that there is no break in the hills to the south. His routes are laid down in the map of Herr B. Hassenstein (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1880). Mr. Thomson was sent out in the "East Central African Expedition," under the late Mr. Keith Johnston, who died (June 23, '79) of dysentery at Behobeho. In Jan., 1880, the gallant young explorer found the Lukuga outlet, and followed its course for some days. It had been temporarily closed by a dam of floating vegetation, the well-known "sadd" (wall) of tangled aquatic plants on the Upper Nile.

flow West between Babylon and Arabia, and fall into the Mediterranean. The Mappamundi of Frate Mauro (Venice, 1450) truncates and distorts S. Africa, almost abolishes The Cape, and places the Nile Source on a parallel with Darfur (Dar-For, region of the For tribe), to the West; while "Chancebar" (Zanzibar) lies to the East with a little Southing. He also derives the Abavi (Abai), or Eastern head-water of the Blue River, from a lake in "Abassia." A Central African lake-basin is shown upon the globe of M. Bohemus (1492). Hylacomilus (1509) converts the Ptolemeian lakes into a single water, "Saphat," probably Gaphat, or Gafat, the region watered by the Abai.

In 1591 Duarte Lopes, an African explorer, countermarched the Ptolemeian reservoirs from a parallel to a meridian. He placed the Cafates (Gafat) in S. Lat. 12°; and thus originated the Zachaf, Zaflan, and other names for the fanciful single sea, an African Caspian, advocated even in our day by the theoretical Mr. Cooley. His Barcena is evidently Bahr-Tsana, the Abyssinian reservoir of the Blue River, which had already been identified by Barros and others with the Pelusian's Lake Coloë. The sources of that branch were presently explored (1624–25) by the energetic Jesuit, Father Jerome Lobo.[1]

[1] Nat. Coimbra, sent to Abyssinia (1597–1600) by D. Francisco da Gama, grandson of D. Vasco, and wrote the "History of Ethiopia," published in 1650. The book was translated in 1785, much to the detriment of Bruce, by Dr. Johnson. "Rasselas" (by the way) is not a fancy name, as has often been supposed: it is either

The Jesuit D'Almeyda (1660) declares that Gojjam and Dembia (Lake Tsana) "belong to the famous Nile, one giving birth to it, and the other increasing it." The map of B. Telles, who abridged the work, makes the Nile describe an oval open to the N.-West and sweeping through Lake Dembia: like Bruce (1790) and Beke (1843), he places the head-waters of the Blue River in a pool to the S.-West of that Lake.

Thus the "Coy Fountains" were transferred from Ptolemy's tolerably correct position (when reduced) to 12°–13° *North* of the Equator; and, by a contrary process, a traveller in our day sought them in S. Lat. 20°.[1] Replicas of "Barcena" multiplied, and private judgment stultified geographical fact. Thus Milton, the "novus Ulysses," speaking of the place "where Abyssin kings their issue guard," could write such poetic nonsense as:

> By some supposed
> True Paradise under the Ethiop line,
> By Nilus head, inclosed with shining rock,
> A whole day's journey high. (Par. L., iv. 281.)

Ras (chief) Salasah (The Trinity), often used in compound proper names, or Ras el-Asad = μ Leonis.

[1] I allude to Dr. Livingstone, who expected, by wandering over the south-eastern headwaters of the Congo (S. Lat. 20°), to find not only the Nile sources, but also the Krophi-Mophi of Herodotus (ii. 28), which probably lay about N. Lat. 20°. In this search, as is well known, the valuable life was lost. There is a time to leave the Dark Continent, and that is when the idée fixe begins to develop itself. "Madness comes from Africa" was a favourite and a true saying.

And, that prose might not be behind poetry, our African Association declared (1788) that Central Africa has a paucity of rivers, and is *not* overspread with extensive lakes.

But Camoens belonged to an age preceding these extreme perversions. He knew from Barros that the Tacuy (true Nile) differs from the Blue River and its branches,—the Tákazye and the Abavi or Abai. He calls the Nile-founts "frore" (x. 127), probably alluding to Mela: this geographer (i. ix.) derives the river from the Antichthonic world, and makes it reach Egypt after passing by sub-oceanic canals from a zone whose winter is the summer of the North. Curious to say, even in late years, the grey muddiness of the White Nile, so much resembling glacier-water, has been attributed to melted snow.

I may be excused in here introducing a short notice of how Ptolemy has been vindicated by myself.[1] His Lunæ Montes are evidently the Highlands of "Unyamwezi," abbreviated on the coast to "Mwezi," meaning the moon.[2] The plateau, which will some day be colonised by Europeans, rises 3,000–5,000 feet above sea-level; and its central dome discharges Northwards the first feeders of the Nile; and Westwards the Easternmost branch of the

[1] Alluding to the expedition sent by the R. Geo. Soc. in 1856–59; and commanded by me, with Captain Speke as second in command.

[2] It is possible that an early confusion of the Zambeze and the Rufiji derived the former from the birthplace of the Nile and the Congo.

Congo. The site has been subsequently visited by Commander Cameron ("Across Africa," i. 133); and by Mr. Henry M. Stanley ("Through the Dark Continent," i. 158). "We were now crossing," says the former, writing in July, 1873, from the west of Jiwe la Singá, "the watershed between the basin of the Rufiji and those of the Nile and Kongo." Stanley thus supports his predecessor:—

"Between Suna and Chiwyu (after leaving Mpapwa) was crossed one small rill flowing North-Easterly, which soon afterwards joins another and still another, and gathering volume swerves North, then North-West. These are the furthest springs and head waters of a river that will presently become known as the Leewumbu, then as the Monangah, and lastly, as the Shimeeyu, under which name it enters Lake Victoria."

These are the cradles of the Nile, the TRUE HEADWATERS which may be called the Sources; and they feed the Nyanza, the more important of the two Lakes whose existence was ascertained by Ptolemy. I may boast:—

> Sic licuit nobis parvum te, Nile, videre.

* * * * *

The last feature noticed by Camoens on this coast is the oft-mentioned isle of St. Lawrence, styled by certain travellers Madagascar (x. 13), and by the Moors, "Island of the Moon." The origin of both terms is disputed. The Saint's name is popularly supposed to have been given in 1505 by the Captain-General of the Sea, D.

Lourenço d'Almeida, on its discovery-day (St. Lawrence, August 10). It was really found by Fernam Soares, a Captain in the same squadron, who, returning to Portugal with eight spice-laden ships, touched at the East Coast on Feb. 1, 1506. He was followed in the same year (Aug. 10) by Joam Gomez d'Abreu, who taking the inner passage, sighted the western Coast, and gave this African "Britain" its Portuguese name. Tristam da Cunha (x. 39) and Albuquerque, to whom the trouvaille has been attributed, hearing of the Island from one of the Captains, Rui Pereira Coutinho, who entered a harbour called Tanana, made a chart of it, and named Cape Natal, now Amber, from the Christmas Day of 1507. "Antongil Bay" on the Eastern shore was subsequently discovered by Antonio Gil.

Marco Polo in "Ramusio" (iii. 31) calls it the "Great Island of Magaster": the older Latin version had Mandaygaster; the epitome, Mandegaster; and the Bâle edition Madaigascar (Marsden). The name has nothing to do with "Menuthias," "Menouthias," or "Menouthesias": it came from Makdishú (Magadoxo), in continental Zanzibar, whose Shaykh invaded it. The vast island is supposed to be the Phebol or Phanbalon of the book De Mundo attributed to Aristotle (Ad Alex., 393, 21); the Iamboli of Diodorus Siculus and the Cerne of Pliny. The older Arabs knew it as Serandah and Chebona. El-Idrisi (twelfth century) and Abulfeda (thirteenth) use Phelon for Phenbalon corrupted from Aristotle, the ill-treated Quambalon or

Chambalon and the unintelligible "Zaledz." The more modern Arabs named it Jezírat el-Kamar (of "the moon"), preserved in "Comoro." Hence the Hicunera of Fra Odorico[1] (1318), the Nacumera of Maundevile, and the Cumere of Varthema.

The Malayo-Polynesian speaking natives, ignoring Madagascar and the Madecassa of Copland, call it "Nosin Dambo" (Isle of wild-hogs); "Izao rehetra izao" (this all); "Izao tontolo izao" (this whole); and "Ny anivon ny riaka" (the Land in the midst of the moving waters).[2] Its missionary history is well known; but there is still much to study in its ethnology, especially the Dokodwarfs said once to have inhabited it. Between 1865 and 1870 it was explored by M. Alfred Grandidier, who published his sketch-map in 1871; and who proposes a magnificent work, "Histoire naturelle de Madagascar" (28 vols., 4to, Paris, Hachette).

[1] The fine sarcophagus of Fra, who is now called Beato, Odorico da Friuli, has been badly treated in the Carmo Church of barbarous Udine. One of the faces has been embedded in the wall above the second side-altar to the North; and it is half hidden by tawdry ornaments.

[2] Rev. James Sibree, Proceedings R. Geo. Soc., Oct. 1879.

§ 4. The Travels of Camoens in the Farther East.

I HAVE already noted that the Siren's Song (Canto x.) is apparently written from the observations of two voyages. The first opens (x. 93) at the Cape, and runs along East Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India (citerior and ulterior) to Japan (x. 132). The second begins (x. 184) with the end, as it were, Timor and Java, trends West, and, reaching Madagascar (x. 137), flies off to the New World. In these regions Camoens can no longer rely upon his classical authorities; yet he places cosmography, geography, and history in the mouth of a Nymph addressing gods as well as men. Thus the song becomes a pendant to the episode of Jupiter (ii. 44–45), who, having evidently studied his Ptolemy, prophesies with rhetorical correctness the geographical progress of Portugal even in Mozambique and Malacca, which are out of the Cretan god's line.

Camoens, during his fourth exile, acquired a fair knowledge of Indo-China or outer Ind, the farther East; the Machin (Machinus) of the Arabs; and the Zir-i-bád of the Persians.[1] Estimated to contain a million of square

[1] "Machin" (Siam, Indo-China) is a kind of pendant to Chin, China proper, Khatá (Cathay), or the Northern regions. Zir-i-bád (under the wind, i.e., windward regions) is found in Abd el-Razzah, p. 6.

miles, this Peninsula, based upon the tropic of Cancer, is bounded on the N.-East by China, and on the N.-West by India, which it balances and roughly reflects. But while India turns her front towards Europe, "Farther Ind," geographically more Oriental, faces and forms part of that great group whose shining lights are China and Japan. Hindu-land, also, is a tolerably regular pyramid, whose outlines are preserved by the Ghats: Indo-China wants the two flanking walls, and it has been modified by wind and weather which have broken the triangle by the Gulf of Siam. Viewed upon the maps, the peninsula has a ray or skate-like form. Assuming the North–South line of the Menam River (E. Long. 100° Gr.) as the spine; Siam, Annam, Cambodia and Cochin-China would represent the Eastern; Arakan Burmah, Ava and Pegu, the Western, lobe. The tail is formed by the long and knobby Malay Peninsula, whose sting is Singapur. In India this terminal formation is faintly outlined by Ceylon, the Maldives, the Laccadives, and other waifs and strays of the Vanished Continent, Lemuria.

My occupations have not yet allowed me to visit farther Ind; and, greatly to my regret, I am reduced to "dressing old words new," to "pouring from pot to pot." The traveller sees with his own eyes: the reader of travels, whatever may be his power of "visualising," sees with the eyes of others. We have, however, an immense mass of literature ranging from Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1167), the first European who used the word

"China," to our day, and annually increasing with a portentous rapidity.[1]

The Indo-Chinese, roughly estimated to number twenty-five millions, are, like the Indians proper, a mixture of Aryans and of non-Aryans, who both descended at different times from the plateaux of High Asia. In India, however, the Iranian, in Indo-China the Turanian (Tartar) element preponderates. The characteristic faith is Buddhism, which has died out, or rather has been killed out, of its own home: it has ever been an exotic in China, which still claims a kind of

[1] After M. Polo, Fra Odorico and Ibn Batutah came the Portuguese travellers, who, like Christoval de Jaque, wandered far and wide; and with them we must rank Varthema and Barbosa. Then the Dutch and the English, who, in the last century, were better acquainted with many parts of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula than their descendants. In the last generation John Crawfurd's "Descriptive Dictionary" of the Indian islands "made epoch": the same may be said of "The Malay Archipelago," by Mr. Alfred R. Wallace (London, Macmillan, 1879) in our days. Lastly arose the great French movement, represented by Henri Mouhot ("Travels in India, China, Cambodia, and Laos"), a naturalist, who, after discovering Ongkor Váht and Ongkor Thom, died the usual fever-death in 1861; by M. Louis de Carnet ("Travels in Indo-China," etc., 1866), a member of the expedition for exploring the Makong R.; by Lieut. François Garnier ("Voyage d'Exploration," etc., 2 vols. with atlas, 4to, Hachette, 1873), who travelled between 1866–68), and was murdered (1873, æt. 34) in Cochin China; and by a host of others, Aymonnier, the linguist; Bouillevaux (1874); Bishop Pallegoix, the missionary, etc. Germany sent D. Adolf Bastian (Pres. Geog. Soc., Berlin); Austria, the Novara Expedition; and Italy a number of travellers, whose names will be quoted.

protectorate over the Peninsula to its west. Here the followers of Gotama, who numerically rank next to those of Confucius and Jesus, rose to a high civilisation. The system, wonderful in its comprehensiveness, containing every tenet known to man, and still more marvellous in its composition, its spirit being Nihilism and its body Roman Catholicism, overspread the land with magnificent buildings. Such are the Dagobas[1] (relic-shrines); the Dagons (Pagodas); the Váhts (Wats) or Monasteries; the Prachadis (Pyramid-towers); the Zyats (Caravansaries); and the Kyoungs, or Monastery-schools for the Phongyi (Bonzes). The architecture is that "Græco-Buddhistic"[2] which begins Westward in Afghanistan: here the European or civilised element was imported by Alexander the Great and his successors. Less prominent, but even more remarkable, are earlier traces of an Assyrian influence: this would be shadowed in history by the semi-mythical legends of old invasions led by Semiramis and Darius.

Camoens escaping from the "perilous theme" of St. Thomas (x. 120), rounds the long curve of the Sinus Gangeticus, the Bay of Bengal; and faces Auster, the South wind. He first notices Arracam (Arakan), Barbosa's Ere Can Guy; which, with its capital of the

[1] The word is generally derived from Dhatu and Garba; but Rajendralál Mitra proposes Dehagopa, a "depository of the body."

[2] The Græco-Bactrian Kingdom, it will be remembered, was destroyed about B.C. 120 by the Scythian Sakas (Sacæ) or Mins.

same name, was independent till 1783: it then became part of Burmah and departed free life in the arms of England. It is now one of the chief granaries of India. He presently left to starboard the Andamans, also British, with their Negritos, a race found in parts of the Indo-Malayan archipelago. To port lay Cape Negrais, the S.-Western hem of the Western lobe. Possibly, like Varthema and Barbosa, he navigated the Gulf of Martaban; where he mentions (x. 122) Pegu. The Pegúo of the Roteiro, and Barbosa's Peygu, lies thirty days from Calicut; the King and subjects are Christians, and the war-elephants number 400. It supplies rubies, gold, silver, benzoin (Barbosa's benjuy) of two kinds, white and black: musk,[1] produced by "an animal like a doe, or gazelle, from a pap on the navel, shed by friction against trees," is brought from an island distant four days' sail. The scandalous story concerning the origin of the Peguans is apparently found in Ibn Batutah (ch. xxi.), who mentions at Barahnakar a people "that have mouths like dogs." Possibly it originates from an old custom among the men, not the women, of forcing the teeth to a prognathous angle by a bit of wood. But legends of Cynocephalous races are almost universal. Maundevile records men and women, with dogs' heads, inhabiting the "great and fair isle called Nacumera" (Madagascar and Comoro). Colonel Yule ("Cathay," i. 97) reports the dog-faces of the Andaman Islanders.

[1] Barbosa (p. 187) gives a curious account of its adulteration by means of leeches.

So the Chinese call their barbarous mountaineers Yaou-jin (dog-men) and Lang-jin (wolf-men); and the Japanese assign a canine origin to their hairy Ainos. The contrivance of the wise Queen (x. 122), the tintinnabula aurea vel argentea appensa, is also found in Nic. de Conti (p. 11) and in Varthema. The Dyaks still wear rings of metal, but for a very different purpose; and Barbosa (p. 184) seems to allude to it.

Lower (Southern) or British Burmah became known by the campaigns of 1824–26 and 1852–53; which gave us possession of Pegu, the political, and Rangoon the commercial capital. The former, lying to the North, was razed in 1757 by King Alompra the Great; rebuilt in 1790, and became ours in the first war. Varthema describes it as a fine and well-built city; and Col. Symes ("Travels," &c.) tells us that the old town disappeared after affording materials for constructing its successor. Rangoon, formerly Dugong, was founded in 1755 by the same Burmese conqueror: it is a flourishing city of some 60,000 souls.

Rangoon commands the Delta of the Irrawady[1] River, the Oiráwati, called after Indra's elephant. Rated the fourth in the world, its course is made 1,400 miles long; and its breadth one mile in upper and four to five in lower Burmah: its floods (May to July) resemble those

[1] "The Irawady and its Sources," by D. J. A. Anderson (Journ. R. Geo. Soc., vol. xl. 1870). In the abstract of "Indian Surveys" (1877) we find a revival of the theory that the Irawady is the lower line of the San-pu, or great river of Thibet.

of the Indus and the Nile. The luxuriant valley became in our middle ages the site of capitals; the earliest being Prome, which was abandoned about A.D. 1000. M. Polo makes Pagahm or Paghan the metropolis of Mien, which he describes (chaps. 43–4) as a spacious plain, producing gold and silver, the elephant and the rhinoceros. Col. Symes (p. 296) was told that forty-five successive Kings ruled at Pagahm before it fell to the Great Khan about A.D. 1295. In A.D. 1364 its honours were transferred to Ava: this city, now a waste of riverine island, became so splendid that it gave a name to Upper Burmah (x. 126). About 1740 King Alompra transferred himself to his native town, Monchobo; and, in 1782, he removed to Amarapura on the left bank, some six miles from Ava. The latter again rose to honour (1819) by the advice of the royal astrologers; but, when destroyed by an earthquake, it submitted a second time to Monchobo. Amarapura and Ava led finally (1857) to Mandalay, the "golden City of the Golden-footed Monarch."[1]

The Delta of the Oiráwati, based upon the Gulf of Martaban, numbers nine primaries connected by a labyrinth of secondary arms. Travellers here remark the craft shaped like Phœnician galleys. Embarking on board the "Irrawaddy Flotilla Company," which runs or

[1] From "The Land of the White Elephant" (London, Sampson Low, 1873), an excellent sketch by "Frank Vincent, Junr."; who, though an American (U.S.), strange to say, does not abuse England and the English.

ran weekly steamers, they pass on the fourth day Prome, a large town containing the fourth Pagoda in Burmah. Follows Thyetmyo, the British cantonment: here boundary-pillars separate England from Ava proper, of which only one-third now remains independent. The ruins of Pagahn are still to be traced, running eight miles along the river by two deep; and remnants of the other old capitals lead to Mandalay,—a voyage of 700 miles.

The Capital of "White-elephant land,"[1] lying a little above Amarapura and upon the same bank, has been made known to us by two "Political Agents" lately deceased, Dr. Clement Williams, first occupant of that unenviable post, and Mr. R. B. Shaw, the explorer. It appears in drawings as the usual Indo-Chinese mixture. The spires and temple-towers are the stepped and broken pyramids of Hindu-land. The roofs, rising in terraces, are curved, peaked, and tip-tilted like those of the Celestial Empire, a form which has extended through Macáo to Portugal and even to the Brazil. These buildings tower over a mass of mud-built and bamboo-thatched huts, sheds, and verandah'd shops, streaked by streets and broken by bosquets of the richest green: this is the general rule of tropical settlements. As in the "Tartar City" (Pekin), there is a town within a

[1] The famous Albino (splotched and spotted) Elephant represents the Hapi (Apis or Epaphus, the soul of Osiris), and the Merur (Mnævis in Heliopolis) of Buddhism. The "pure of the pure," made sacred by metempsychosis, and an emblem of Buddha, is said to be suckled, *honoris causâ*, by women.

town : and the "Ruler of Earth and Air," whose title is the Lord of the Power of Life and Death," is shrined in the "Golden Palace," the heart of the Capital, surrounded by double walls. The massacres and the barbarities of the young King Thibau, which have caused the withdrawal of the English Resident (Col. Browne), and have led to sundry small rebellions, can hardly be ascribed to his education in a missionary-school. Meanwhile his dominions have no seaboard; he has, after Eastern fashion, unadvisedly raised a regular army, which of course wants to fight; and he is hemmed in by stronger neighbours. Upper Burmah will probably gravitate, like the rest of the country, to the greater power that holds the Indian Peninsula.

From Mandalay the steamers run up 300 miles, a total of a thousand, to Bhamo or Bhamau, in nine days, returning in four. Here the Oiráwati becomes a noble stream, 500 feet above sea-level, and passing through mountain scenery described as rich, grand, and picturesque. This upper section waters the Shan or Laotian principalities. The ancient empire of the Laos (x. 126) was "potent in land and number" (x. 126). During our middle ages it extended 750 miles North to South, by 800 broad, from the Me-kong Westwards and Eastwards. It was ruined by its position; and, an Indo-Chinese Poland, it was absorbed by China and Burmah, Siam, and Annam. In this region the Shans, or "white barbarians," are estimated at a million and a half; and their capital in Northern Siam may contain 50,000. They are described

as a robust, fair-skinned, and short-haired race, famous for sword-making: they carefully guard their comfortable, walled villages from the intrusive, "Sons of Han"; but they are not addicted to conquest. A mighty barrier to the North, a prolongation of the Himalaya-Caucasus, parts low-lying Farther Ind from high China and higher Thibet. In it head, besides the Oiráwati, the Lu or Salween, the Lan-tsang or Me-kong of Cambodia and Cochin-China; and the Li-tsien feeding the Tong-king Gulf; while the Yang-tse-Kiang ("Son of the Sea," i.e., *the* river) and the Wu-ling, or upper Canton stream, irrigate China proper.

Bhamo is becoming once more a place of importance. For five centuries it was a great station on the highway of trade between China and Indo-China.[1] Gradually it declined, and fell to a mere fishing village, under the Panthays of opium-growing Yun-nan, and their king, Sulayman. These Chinese Moslems, a small item of the twenty millions who inhabit the Middle Kingdom, placed their capital at Ta-li-fu or Yun-nan-fu. They were forced to succumb to the slow, sure politic of the Mandarins, which has lately absorbed Eastern Turkistan. M. Emile Rocher gives a terrible account of the last scene in 1873, when the town yielded to the Imperialist Fu-Tai or Viceroy: seventeen chiefs were beheaded, and 30,000 out of 50,000 inhabitants were massacred.

[1] "Trade-Routes between Burmah and Western China," by J. A. Coryton (Journ. R. Geog. Soc., vol. xlv. of 1875).

Bhamo has lately had an Assistant-Resident and a branch-mission. Although Mr. T. T. Cooper preferred the Bramhaputra line, a Maulmain-Bhamo railway has been proposed, and the re-establishment of the older trade-route has been the objective of sundry expeditions. The two principal are that of Colonel E. B. Sladen (1868); and Colonel Horace Browne's mission to Yunnan (1875), when Mr. A. R. Margary, of H. M.'s Consular service, sent across China to guide the march, was murdered at Manwyne.[1] Lately the Rev. J. McCarthy, of the China inland mission, walked in native garb through Sze-chuen, Kwei-chou, and Yun-nan to Bhamo; and reported favourably of the route.[2]

Camoens now runs along Tenassari (x. 123), the maritime strip with the town of the same name which prolongs Pegu to the Northern third of the ray-tail, the Malay Peninsula. It is the Tenacar of the Roteiro, subject like Ligor and Queda to Siam: it lay forty days from Calicut, and produced much *brasyll* or dye-wood, the "bakam" of the Arabs. Barbosa (p. 188) prefers "Tenasery"; Varthema (pp. 202–4) "Tarnasseri": the

[1] See "Mandalay to Momien," by Dr. Anderson, London, Macmillan, 1879. The "foreign residents in China" have lately erected a memorial on the Bund, near the Public Garden, Shanghai, in honour of the lamented young officer (æt. 28), whose gallantry in saving shipwrecked crews had won for him the Humane Society's medal.

[2] "Across China from Chin-Kiang to Bhamo"; read (R.G.S.) April 28, '79. The explorer left the lower Yang-tse-Kiang in mid-Jan. '77, and reached Bhamo on Aug. 26 of the same year.

latter gives a peculiarly bad account of its morals. In the Northern part lies Tavai city (x. 123) where begins the "large, broad, and opulent reign of Siam." Tenassarim became English by the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826.

After the Isthmus of Krau, the narrowest section of the Ptolemeian "rich Aurea-Chersonesus" (ii. 54), the voyager entered the Straits of Malaca (Malacca), which Varthema described as "a river twenty-five miles wide called Gaza" (=Bugház, a narrow, a defile). The rough channel, 500 miles long, and connecting the Indian Ocean with "longinquous China" (ii. 54), was much feared in those days. To starboard stood the "noble Island of Samatra" (Sumatra, twice named, x. 124–135): it was opened to Europe by Diogo Lopez de Sequeira under Albuquerque in 1508. This "Chryse" of the Periplus, which may also apply to the Malay Archipelago, is the "Java Minor," Samara (?), or Samarcha (?) of Marco Polo; the Shumatrah or Java of Ibn Batutah (chap. xxii.), distant twenty-one days from Java Proper, the Sumobor of Maundevile (chap. xviii.), and the Sciamuthera of Nic. de' Conti. According to Colonel Yule ("Cathay," i. cxx.) Fra Oderico was the first to use the word, although traces of it are found earlier. Sumatra is evidently (Sanskr.) Samudra, the sea; a name confined to the capital in Ibn Batutah's day. The Roteiro calls it Camatarra, probably including the N.-Western and Moslem Kingdom of Aquem or Achem (Port.) Atjin (Dutch), or Achin (English): the word Acheh (a wood-

leech) would not rhyme with Chin-Máchín[1] (China and Indo-China). This early account places it thirty days from Calicut, and describes its productions as cotton, lac, and fine silk. The log-book also mentions "Pater" or Pidir (the port and Rajahship East of Acheh and West of Pasé), near Conimata, fifty days from Calicut: it had no Moors; both king and people were Christians (Hindús?); and its exports were lac, rhubarb, and spinels (rubies). Varthema found the king of "Pedir," which he places eighty leagues from the Continent, a "pagan"; but many "Moors" were resident in the Eastern coast of the island: Barbosa (p. 196) makes Pedir the principal kingdom of the Moors. El-Islam reached Acheh as early as the fourteenth century, and the last Dutch wars show that its vigour and valour have not declined.

Camoens recounts (x. 124) the tradition that the "noble island" Sumatra was lately rent from the mainland, like Sicily from Italy:[2] modern travellers deny the connexion. He speaks of its volcano, its silk,[3] petroleum,[4] and gum-

[1] Colonel Yule suggests that we have adopted the form found in the Ayn-i-Akbari and the Tables of Sadik-i-Isfahani. Achin takes a notable place in Lancaster (pp. 74–85).

[2] "Pharsalia" (iii. 60) is the source of this.

[3] Besides the Roteiro, Barros and Varthema agree with Camoens (x. 135) that Sumatra produced silk: Crawfurd (who was fond of doubting) doubts the fact; but the authorities are against him. Barbosa (p. 196) tells us that much silk is grown there, but not so good as the silk of China.

[4] Sumatra abounds in Tertiary coal. The Petroleum is com-

benjamin;[1] together with the fine gold which made some identify it with Ophir. Apparently every explorer has his own "Ophir"; and some have more than one.[2] My belief is that "Ophir" is not a city nor a port-town whose ruins would long ago have been found, but, as the word imports, a "red region." This country, I hold, with my friend, Aloys Sprenger, is a Southern prolongation of the West Arabian Ghauts, the mountains of Nabathæa and Midian, which undoubtedly contain Havilah (Khaulán). Since 1877, when my first gold-discovery was made, the precious metals have been found near Yambu', the port of El-Medinah, and near Jeddah, the port of Meccah. Gold is suspected to exist behind Mocha; and report now speaks of a rich placer in Yemen. In days to come its ancient glories will be revived; and the retrograde Ministry of Riaz Pasha el-Wázán (ex-Jew) will blush at the folly and wickedness which forbade gold-digging, and systematically encouraged slave-trading.

Sumatra, next to Borneo, is the largest in the Archipelago: with some geographers it ranks number four in the world. Its nucleus is, like Java, a grand volcanic

mon in Farther Ind; and Barros also mentions a sulphurous liquor used by the natives of Sumatra for skin-diseases. In Europe the medicinal use of petroleum is quite modern.

[1] This Styrax benzoin, the Bukhur Jáwi of the Arabs, is believed by Crawfurd to be the classical Malabathrum.

[2] I have noticed the much-vexed question in "The Gold Mines of Midian" (262–64); and have since then come to the same conclusion as Herr Ad. Soetbeer (*das Goldland Ofir*). This writer assigns Ophir to El-Asyr, the province lying South of El-Hejaz.

chain; and the shallow seas have been converted into a narrow belt of lowlands by the washings of the mountains, and the discharges of plutonic matter. Both soil and vegetation distinguish it from rich Borneo and Java: since the days of Varthema (p. 225) it has been known to be infertile.

We have not much to boast of in Sumatra. Although Queen Elizabeth wrote to her "loving brother," the King of "Achem," and although Bencoolen was English for nearly 140 years before that commissionership was made over to the Dutch (1686–1825), yet the interior is almost unexplored: in fact, it was better known to us two centuries ago than it is now. We were invited (1684) by the chiefs of Priaman and Tiku to occupy their pepper-ports; but we left the heart of the island virgin ground. The Hollanders are now making up for our incuriousness. Under the auspices of the Netherlands Geographical Society, Prof. P. J. Veth, of Leyden, explored the Central Regions in 1877–79. He found such features as Mount Karinchi, 11,820 feet high, and the Batang-Hari river measuring 490 miles along its windings. There are literary curiosities also in Sumatra. Crawfurd makes the Batak alphabet a kind of Ogham,[1] and the Rejang

[1] John Crawfurd "On the Alphabets of the Indian Archipelago" (Journ. Ethno. Soc., ii. 1850). For instance, (three strokes diminishing in length upwards) = u: and the (same inverted) = i. The letter p is a simple horizontal stroke ———; while the aspirate is the same with two small vertical dashes. Besides horizontals and verticals there are diagonals; but, unfortunately, the whole alphabet is not given.

syllabarium, found written upon bamboo, is nothing but Phœnician (that is Egyptian) inverted.[1]

Camoens now passed, off Malacca-land, *Pulo* Penang, the *Isle* of Areca nuts. It was bought (1785) with the adjoining Province Wellesley for Rs. 4,000 by the late E. I. Company from the Malay Rajah of Kedah. This is the Quedá of The Lusiads (x. 123) and the Roteiro; the "head of the pepper-regions." The name means a kraal for elephant-catching.[2] Pulo Penang, famed for "lawyers," and almost uninhabited when taken over by us, now numbers some 60,000 souls.

The next important station was "Maláca"[3] (x. 123). Camoens often mentions the Malays, and alludes to their kríses, which Barbosa calls "querix." He did not, however, notice the pleasant use of that dagger when "running a muck" (amok).[4] The Peninsula is the Melequa of the Roteiro, forty days from Calicut; wholly Christian, and famed for silk and porcelain, red parrots, and tin of which money was coined. According to Crawfurd

[1] Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. iv. xxvii. The characters tattooed on a Motu woman (S. East Coast of New Guinea) are also apparently significant, and some of them suggest Phœnician.

[2] The Editor of Barbosa (p. 189) derives it erroneously "from the Arabic, a cup." It is apparently Sindbad's Island of Kela.

[3] According to Albuquerque in the Commentaries (iii. 77), "Malaca also signifies to meet." This would make it a congener of the Arab. "Mulakát," meeting.

[4] Evidently like the amiable institution called "Thuggee," this "Amuco" (Barbosa, p. 194) originated with the mild Hindu, and was connected with the worship of the destroying gods.

(p. 240), Malacca in 1847 exported 5,000 cwts. of tin, mostly worked by the Chinese in Banca-island,[1] a bit of Malacca, whose beasts, birds, and insects differ from those of Sumatra. Varthema mentions moneys of gold and silver besides tin. At Malacca there is still a colony of Hindús, whose trade is to touch and refine the precious metal. The capital and great trading-station of Malay-land was stormed by Albuquerque on Saint James's Day (July 25, O.S.), 1511. His fortifications still crown a height of about 100 fêet behind the modern town. They contain two ruinous monasteries, and the church, "Madre de Deus," where the remains of D. Francisco Xavier were temporarily buried. It was taken by the Dutch in 1641, and was finally ceded to England (1824–5) in exchange for Bencoolen. Of late years the ex-capital of Farther Ind has declined from a population of 20,000 to 13,000, mostly Malays. About thirty miles inland rises some 5,700 feet high the conical "Mount Ophir," which still yields gold. The native name is Gounong-*api*, which Europeans, says Marsden,[2] converted in modern times to the Biblical term.

From Malacca the voyager ran down to Cingapura, "on the Lands-end" (x. 125). "Singapúr" would mean the Lion's City, possibly so called because infested with tigers. The occupation, when a village of 200 Malay

[1] It is supposed that the tin-mines were exploited in classical ages, and that the metal found its way westward to make bronze.

[2] This estimable writer ("History of Sumatra," p. 3) would

fishermen, under the Rajah of Johor, was suggested to Lord Hastings (1818) by Sir Stamford Raffles, who became the first governor (1823): John Crawfurd, the second, predicted that it would become the great entrepôt of Indo-China and the Malayan Archipelago. It is now the Capital of the "Straits' Settlement," whose Lieutenant-Governor has the management of Penang, Wellesley, and Malacca. The islet-population, some 100,000, has been described as the "most conglomerate of any city in the world"; more than half, however, is Chinese.

From Singapur Camoens "turned towards the Cynosure" (x. 125), that is, ran, as the steamers run, up the Eastern flank of the long Malay peninsula. Here he notices (x. 125) Pam or Pahang, better written Pa-ang, an independent Malay state; a strip of coast eighty miles long, on the Eastern side of Malacca, bounded North by Johor and South by Tregano. In the Commentaries of Albuquerque we read: "The Kingdom of Malacca on one side borders on the Kingdom of Queda; on the other with the Kingdom of Pam" (iii. chap. xvii.). Near it lies Patanè (ibid.) or Patani, the scene of John Davis' murder, and better known to us in his day than in ours. This is probably Barbosa's "Pani," which is "beyond Malacca towards China."

place Ophir with Milton at Sofálah. The Encycl. Brit. (xx. p. viii.), quoted by Musgrave (p. 580), tells us that "Ophir is a Malay substantive, signifying a mountain containing gold" (?)

The voyager would then coast along the Eastern half of Indo-China, the right lobe of the ray. This region was divided into Cochin-China East, Siam West, and Cambodia South. Time has made great political changes. Siam, bounded East by the Me-kong River, and West by the British possessions, has lost much land by wars with Burmah; moreover, her Shan-Laos States, to the N.-East and N.-West, have become independent. In the days of Camoens she owned most of the Malay Peninsula. Cambodia, which once held the whole of the lower Me-kong Valley, shrank to a mere Province after 1795, when Siam took from her the Siamrap and Battambang Provinces. French Cochin-China has lately occupied the Southern extremity of the lobe, including the river-mouth. East of the Me-kong stretches the long thin strip Annam, which has grown at the expense of Cambodia: it is separated by an Eastern sub-maritime range from Cochin-China proper, now limited to the sea-board.[1] Both confine on the North with the province of Tong-king, Tonquin or Tunkin, formerly part of Annam: it gives a name to the Eastern Gulf; France threatens to absorb it, and attempts are being made to navigate the Li-tsien River.

In this Eastern region we find, according to Mr. A. H.

[1] Journal of Anthrop. Inst., Feb. 1880. Mr. Keane has made a brave attempt to bridge the Malay country with Upper Asia by means of the Khmer of Cochin-China: this is a new departure, and as such will attract the attention it deserves. The language has been treated by M. E. Aymonnier in his "Dictionnaire Khmer-Français."

Keane, two different races. The Burmans, Siamese, Laors, Shans, Kassias, and people of Annam are Mongoloids, yellow men, speaking monosyllabic tongues, *vario tono*, the meaning dependent upon intonation. The Khmers (Cambodians), Malays, Charays, Stiêngs, Chams, and Kuys of the mainland, East of the Me-kong, and approaching Annam, are olive-brown and brown non-Mongolians (Caucasians?), whose language are polysyllabic and articulated *recto tono*, that is untoned.

Resuming the voyage with Camoens, after running some 800 miles up Eastern Malay-land we make Siam, once famous for its twins and lately for its Embassy with the "Order of the White Elephant." It is the Xarnauz (?) of the Roteiro, which places it fifty days from Calicut, makes its King and people Christians, and notes its 400 war-elephants, and its trade in gum-benjamin. It is also the "Empire of Sornau" in Fernan' Mendes Pinto; the "City of Sarnau in Cathay" of Varthema; and the Kingdom of Ansiam in Barbosa (p. 188). The Poet mentions the Menam River (x. 125), which he derives from the "Chiamai" Lake. The latter is in the Shan-Laos principality of Jangomai, Xieng-mai, Zimmay or Zimmé; where the East India Company had a commercial agent in the early seventeenth century. It was visited in 1836 by Lieut. (the deceased General) W. Couperous Macleod, and in 1867 by Lieut. Garnier. The Prince has lately applied to England for Vice-Consul.

In company with the Laos, Avans, and Burmans,

Camoens mentions (x. 126) the cannibal and tattoo'd Gueos or Gueons. These Guei of the Asia Portugueza are generally identified with the "Red Karens," whose name is still a word of terror. But they may be the Giao-chi (Kiao-tchi or old Annamites), one of the four great barbarian tribes of Northern Indo-China, on the frontier of the Middle Kingdom. According to a late report by Mr. Consul Charles F. Tremlett, they are noticed in the Imperial Annals as early as B.C. 2300 (?) for a savage peculiarity, a great toe separated like a thumb; and modern travellers still observe this quadrumanous sign. Barbosa (p. 190) gives a circumstantial account of how dead relatives are roasted and eaten.

In Siam Camoens would learn about the old Capital Ayuthia, Yuthia, Odia, or Udiá of De la Martinière corrupted from Si-yo-thi-ya, which, in 1769, was supplanted by Bankok. This "Venice of the East" lies lower down stream, near where the Menam debouches into the great Gulf of Siam. The general appearance of the amphibious capital is that of a huge village in a virgin jungle broken by rice-fields. The "Mother of Waters," flowing through the western quarter, supports some 12,000 ships and tenements; and the canoe is necessary as at the head of the Adriatic. The Pagodas, the Palaces, and the blocks of houses are of brick; there are Consulates, there are mission-schools, and there is a French church. Consequently a good Macadam runs round and within the City-walls, the streets are laid out at right angles; they meet at *ronds points*, and the

Supreme or First King drives out in a barouche. The commerce of Bankok at one time almost rivalled that of Calcutta and Canton: now it has greatly declined.

Siam is said to be the only country still ruled, like ancient Sparta, by two kings. Formerly Japan had her "Tycoon" (Shogun) or religious, opposed to the Mikado, secular or real, sovereign; but the Tokugava dynasty ended in 1868. In Dahome there is a "Bush-King," distinguished from the "Town-King"; both royalties, however, are vested in one person.[1] The second King of Siam, who is related to the first, holds what appeared to Sir John Bowring (1855) an "anomalous position:" moreover, there is a Regent or Premier, who has been called the "real Ruler of Siam."

Camoens then passed West to Cambodia, which he terms Camboja (x. 127): the name, also written Campuchia and Kamphuxa, from the Chinese Kan-phu-cha, gave a name to "Gamboge" (*Garcinia Cambogia*). Rounding the Cambodian Point, vessels sight the mouth of the "*Mecom Rio*," the "Captain of the Waters" (x. 27); moderns call it Me-kong, Mhe-kong, or Ma-kong, and the Chinese Lan-san-kiang. Here Camoens was wrecked, and probably spent some months among the hospitable Kmers (Cambodians). He well describes the Nile-like flooding of the stream, which ranks No. 14 in the world: it drains the S.-Eastern flank of the Yunnan Mountains; and, after running some 1,700 miles,

[1] Described in my "Mission to Dahome" (ii. chap. 16).

it falls into the China Seas. The French expected to find in it a practicable water-way; but all their efforts from 1866 to 1869 were vain. About 150 miles above the mouth it receives the Mesap, upon whose right bank stands Panompin ("Gold Mountain"), the modern capital of Cambodia. The great influent is the shed of Lake Bien-ho or Thalaysap ("Sweet-water"), in the Siamrap Province. This fine reservoir, 90 to 120 miles long by 8 to 22, bisected by N. Lat. 13° and E. Long. (Gr.) 104°, is a divided possession: the Northern half belongs to Siam, the Southern to Cambodia.

North of "Sweet-water" lie the famous ruins of Angkor (or Ongkor)-Thom (Angkor the Great) and of Angkor Váht or Nagkon-wat, the City of Monasteries. They are first mentioned by Christovam de Jaque, the Portuguese driven from Japan in 1570. M. Henri Mouhot, who rediscovered them, speaks of Solomon, of the Lost Tribes, of Ophir, and of Michael Angelo: he declares that one temple is "grander than anything left to us by Greece or Rome,"[1] and he assigns an age of 2,000 years to the oldest parts. He records the tradition that they were founded by a Prince of Roma or Ruma.[2] Others have imagined that the "red skins" of ancient Egypt established colonies amongst these

[1] For dwarfing classical architecture there is nothing like training the eye by a voyage up the Nile. The traveller should visit Rome and Athens before Thebes.

[2] If the word be not Ráma, it was probably learned from some Portuguese missioner.

yellow races; and even distort the Siamese title "Phra" (Lord or Master) to Pharaoh. This comes of reading translations; Pharaoh is Per-Ao, lord of the great house or Palace; not Phrah (the Sun). Another traveller found the remains "imposing as those of Thebes and Memphis(?), and more mysterious."

But the many illustrations of the huge forest of stone-trunks, numbering some 6,000 columns, show none of the hidden interest which invests Yucatan. The architecture is Græco-Buddhistic; the character of the inscriptions resembles Pali, which was borrowed through the Phœnician and the Greek[1] from Egypt; and the sculptures represent whole scenes from the comparatively modern "Ramáyana"-poem. The degraded Pagodas of Calcutta and Bombay, Walkeshwar for instance near Malabar Point, and the Buddhistic caves of Kanheri, whose inscriptions date from Shak 799 = A.D. 877, evidence the same leading thought. The "luminous epoch" which created the masterpieces of Cambodia, resulted, as often happens throughout the world, from the meeting of races: the idea, the inspiration, came from Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Afghanistan, and India; the work, the marvellous realisation, from China. The modern natives rightly attribute them to the Khmer-dom, or original Khmers, during the grand epoch of Cambodia; and, if they date them from 2,400 years ago, we have only to subtract 1,500. When the religious

[1] This is the opinion of the highly distinguished M. Joseph Halévy.

enthusiasm died out, the temples were neglected: and, as at Heliopolis, the present races build pig-sties where their ancestors built palaces.

Traces of palpable Hinduism now run wild, of Brahmanism and of its reformation, Buddhism, have been found amongst the Alfuros[1] and other races of Indonesia: they entirely disappear in the Eastern parts of New Guinea. Concerning Buddha we know absolutely nothing save the legends of certain Princes of Historic fiction; proved by history to have been mere barbarians in the days of Herodotus (lib. iii.). Topographers show us that before his time there were no architectural monuments in Arya-Varttá. The name, or rather title of the "world-illuminator" is nowhere mentioned by the Greek travellers of the Alexandrine and post-Alexandrine age: only upon a coin of the Afghan Kanerdi we find the legend BOΔΔO.[2] His high antiquity must be a myth: a man born about B.C. 400 would suit the date of Gotama, who became the Saint Josaphat of the Greek and Roman Churches.[3]

[1] Usually derived from the Arab. El-Hurr, the free, the wild.

[2] In the India House Collection ("The Academy," Aug. 9, '79).

[3] In the eighth century John of Damascus, at the Court of El-Mansúr of Baghdad, wrote in Greek a religious romance, "Barlaam and Joasaph." The former converted the latter from an Indian Prince to a hermit; and the fiction appeared (with many others) in the Martyrologium Romanum, revised by order of Gregory XIII. (1583). It is a Christian adaptation of the life of Buddha; and Joasaph or Josaphat is evidently = "Bodisat." To the latter also was transferred the "Judgement of Solomon."

According to Prinsep and C. W. King, Buddhism began to extend Westwards in the days of the later Seleucidæ (third century B.C.). The similarity of his life and doctrines with those of the Founder of Christianity is a conviction; so are the royal descent of the "enlightened one"; his miraculous conception; the Devas singing "Hail Máyá" to his Virgin Mother; his growing in wisdom and stature till he taught his teachers; his temptation by Mara, the fiend, who offered him the great quarters of the world; his betrayal by Devadatta(-Judas), when the archers struck by his majesty fell at his feet; his commissioning disciples to preach to all men the "three wisdoms,"—the impermanence of worldly things, the presence of sorrow and the non-existence of the soul;—and, finally the earthquake felt throughout the world at his death: such parallelism with the Evangels now received can be explained in only one way. It proves that the Hindús of later ages borrowed much from foreigners, possibly from the Syrian and Assyrian historians. The first Christian Father who mentions Buddha is St. Jerome. Thus I would explain the similarity, the almost identity of ceremonial which surprises or scandalises so many an unthinking traveller. Even conservative Brahmanism has not been able to resist petty larceny. Witness the Sequence of Creation in the Vishnu Purana.

Panompin rose to its present rank shortly before 1870: in the previous decade M. Mouhot found the capital at Oodong, a town of 12,000 souls lying a few miles to the

North. "Gold Mountain" has felt the impulse of "Cochin-Chine." The dull overgrown village is the Head-quarters of a *Protecteur;* a telegraph connects it with Saïgong; and a gun-boat anchored off the Residency, supports Gallic interests versus His Majesty's. The latter has paid his powerful neighbours the sincere compliment of imitation.

Camoens evidently studied his Cambodian hosts; and he correctly describes their Buddhistic superstition of Metempsychosis.[1] He must also have collected much information concerning the Malay Archipelago, which contains some of the largest islands in the world, the perfection of gorgeous tropical beauty. His next Eastern station would be Chiampá (x. 129), or Tsiampa, M. Polo's "Chamba," the ancient name for the coast between Tong-king and Kamboja. In the same stanza he mentions "Cauchichina of obscure fame." The great peninsula, with the navigable Red River, the Tong-king or Hung-kiang, became a separate state about 250 years ago; and its brass pillar of limitation, noted in the great Jesuit map, remained till the day of John Davis (1600). Cochin China, during the last generation famed only for big poultry,[2] has come prominently before the

[1] The Sanskrit scholars who have studied the Buddhistic legends and notices of Camoens (Canto x.) find them correct. D. G. de Vasconcellos Abreu, of the University, Lisbon, has lately published "Fragmentos d'uma tentativa de Estudo Scolastico da Epopea Portugueza."

[2] Barbosa (p. 180) mentions "very extremely large hens" in Bengal (Cochin-Chinas?).

world since the French (1861) took the country and made Saïgong,[1] a small fishing village, their capital. It was a curious freak of Gallic colonisation: Cochin China, like Algeria, can be kept only by those who hold the dominion of the seas. Such distant settlements were found useful by rulers who, without them, could hardly have passed adequate naval estimates: now they seem preserved mainly for the purpose of benefiting the comfortless "Messageries." According to Mr. Vincent "France in the East is a great farce, a travesty, a burlesque upon colonisation in general."

After Cochin China, whose coast is rare in harbours as S. Eastern Africa, Camoens crosses the Tong-King Gulf, which he probably includes in that of "Ainam" (x. 129). Hainan is no longer an "unknown bight": on the contrary, it is only too well known for typhoons, which spare its neighbour, Formosa. This fine Island, 150 miles long, has for chief city Kiung-chow-fu, with a civilised Fort and Custom-house.

Here begins "China that extends from the torrid to the Arctic zone" (x. 129). The "Middle Kingdom," which has lately taken a new lease of life, was opened by Perestrello (1511–12), who first conducted a ship to China under a European flag. In 1518 Albuquerque sent as ambassador Thomas Perez with the prudent Fernam Perez de Andrada commanding eight ships, which were surrounded and watched by war-junks. Some

[1] Mr. Kennedy on "Saïgong" (Soc. of Arts Journal, 1873–74).

of the vessels returned with cargo to Malacca, while others proceeded to Fo-kian and founded a Comptoir at Ning-po, whence the Portuguese were expelled in 1545. Two of the squadron went forward to Canton for trade, settling upon the Islands at the River-mouth; but the violence of Simam de Andrade and the commercial jealousy and rapacity of the Christians, contrasted very badly with the orderly conduct of the "Moors." Thomas Perez died in prison, and it was some years before the Portuguese were allowed to occupy Sancian and Macao. The Poet says nothing about El-Islam in China. We learn, however, from Ibn Batutah (xiii., &c.) that these Mohammedans were half-caste Arabs who had brought with them their Kázis, Shaykh el-Islam and other administrators of their faith.[1]

Camoens has studied this "Chinese puzzle," where "millions of human beings are working out the problem of life under conditions which, by many persons in Europe, are deemed wholly incompatible with human happiness." Whenever Western sciolists argue the truth of some tenet from its "universal prevalence," such as the "Aryan Soul-land," they should make sure of China, where some 300 millions most probably ignore and do very well without it.[2] Camoens knows the immense extent and

[1] The Moslem traveller also notes the Jews and the Christians whose name Tersai or Terzai (Pers. Tarsá) shows whence they came: these Nestorians of St. Thomas are also described by Asseman ("Biblio. Orient").

[2] That marvellous book, "Isis Unveiled," by Madame Blavatsky,

wealth of the proud empire. He has, of course, heard of the "incredible wall" (x. 130) which separates the Celestials from the Tartars"; "the obstruction" (dam) of "Gog and Magog," as Ibn Batutah calls it. He is in error about the succession (x. 130) which, chiefly for fancies of filial piety, must pass to direct, never to collateral, descendants. Of Macao, his place of exile, nothing need be said: the Portuguese of Sancian had just built the forts and established the colony. He does not allude to this Sancian or San-Chan (vulg., St. John's), famous for the death of D. Francisco Xavier (1552): for many years the Bishop of Macáo made an annual visitation, and brought away earth consecrated by the whilom occupant of the tomb.

Camoens then reaches Japan (x. 131), or Nipon, and its adjoining islands: he expresses a pious hope that the silver mines will serve for the propagation of the Faith; but the forecast was unhappy as that which sang the prospective triumphs of D. Sebastiam. In the Region of "infinite isles" (x. 132), which Mr. Alfred R. Wallace has named Australasia, he specifies Tidor, Ternate, Banda, Borneo, Timor, and Sunda. The "fifth Quarter" contains, besides Australia and New Zealand, Malasia or the Malayan Archipelago; Melanesia or the Papuan Islands, including New Guinea; Mikronesia, the crescent North of the latter, with the Carolinas about the centre;

(London, Quaritch, 1877), actually assumes China to be Buddhist. This is equivalent to saying that all Europe is Lutheran. "Isis" is "unveiled" only on the cover.

and Polynesia or Oceania, the triangle bounded (E.) by Easter Island, (N.) by Hawaii or Sandwich and (S.W.) by New Zealand. Malasia, over which the Portuguese were then rapidly spreading, runs from the Malaccan Straits some 2,000 miles Eastward with Southing, to the shores of New Guinea.[1] It is now co-extensive with the great Eastern Empire of the Netherlands. Since England abandoned to them one of her fairest conquests, Java, the Hollanders reign supreme. They have occasional troubles like the Acheh war: the unostentatious character of their peaceful and prosperous rule, however, makes the world forget that it covers not only the Spice Islands but a considerable part of Sumatra and Borneo. Moreover, the economy and efficiency of their system recommend it as an example to Anglo-India.

Camoens dwells mostly upon the Moluccas or Spice Islands. The origin of Malúka is doubtful: Crawfurd

[1] I need hardly say that this nucleus of the Melanesian race offers a great and novel field for exploration. See a curious account of its "Spiritualism" in notes on "New Guinea," by the Rev. W. G. Lawes, Proc. of the R.G.S., Oct. '80. The Dutch claim its Western half; Moresby and the London Missionary Society have done and are doing good work; but here Italian travellers have most distinguished themselves, *teste* my friend Prof. Giglioli's "Italian Explorers in New Guinea." Discovery was begun in 1830 by Count Carlo V. di Conzano, and followed by Colonel G. di Lenna, G. Emilio Cerruti (1869–70), and Dr. Odoardo Beccari (1875), who unfortunately will not put pen to paper. To mention no more, Sig. S. M. D'Albertis (1872–8), the explorer of the Arfat Mountains, 9,500 feet high, and the "home of the Birds of Paradise," has published "New Guinea, what I Did and what I Saw" (S. Low & Co.).

(p. 283) suggests that it is that of a place and people in Gilolo; and the latter may be Varthema's "Monoch," apparently one island with various outliers. The Archipelago is now divided into three groups; the Amboynas, including Ceram; the Bandas; and the Moluccas proper, containing the great island of Gilolo, with volcanic Ternate, Mortay, Tidor, Bachan, and Mysol. Another distribution is Ceram with Amboyna; Gilolo with Ternate and Tidor; and, thirdly, Timor and its neighbours. The Poet, who says nothing of the "Moors," then spreading over the larger settlements, is supposed to have passed some time at Tidor (x. 132): here he would become familiar with its Northern neighbour, volcanic Ternate. This island, the Northernmost of a chain near the West Coast of Gilolo, formerly ruled seventeen to eighteen adjacent islets, including Tidor. It was first visited by the Portuguese in 1518: in 1607 they were expelled by the Dutch who built three forts, Orange, Holland, and Willemstadt. Camoens repeats the old story of the "Birds of Paradise," preserved in the name *Paradisea apoda;* the legs being cut off before the skins were sold. Some French translators render the word "Colibri"; but these beautiful cousins of the swallows are peoples of the new world. The Banda or Nutmeg Islands, numbering some ten, between Timor and New Guinea, are still famed for the narcotic nut (x. 133); for the peculiar pigeon named after the fruit (ibid.), and for the "dry flower of Banda" (ix. 14), the aril or "mace," which is supposed to be derived from the Arabic "basbásah."

This spice (*nux moschata*) was a monopoly till the French naturalist, M. Poivre (a happy name!), introduced it (Jan. 27, 1770) into the Isle of France, whence it spread to Bourbon, Martinique, and Cayenne. I found it growing wild (?) in Usui, Central Intertropical Africa.[1] According to Nic. de' Conti (p. 17), Bandan was the only island in which cloves flourish: Camoens, however (ix. 14) specifies the black *cravo* (nail-head) of Maluco (Moluccas). According to Varthema (243) the people of "Bandan" were like "beasts," Sans-Rey pagans: this statement is also in Barros; Barbosa (p. 200) makes them "Moors" and Pagans; Pigafetta "Moors" only.

Sandaliferous Timor (x. 134), whose fort Coupang, was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1613, lies among the Sunda Archipelago, East of Java, and South of the Moluccas. It is supposed to be the Conimata of the Roteiro, so called from its chief port-town, Camanasa; and is there placed fifty days from Calicut: the king and people are Christians: it has a thousand war-elephants, and it yields sapphires and dye-wood. Camoens praises its "Saunders"[2] (x. 134). The Por-

[1] "Lake Regions," etc., ii. 176.

[2] Some twenty species of Santalum are spread over Asia, Australia, and Polynesia. In habit the Santalaceæ resemble the myrtles. The species alluded to in the text would be *S. Album*, with an inferior kind (*S. Myrtifolium*); it grows in India and in her Archipelago. The heart of the tree, which is about twenty-five feet high, is the sandal-wood of commerce. The parts nearest the root are the hardest and darkest; hence we read of white, red, and yellow sorts: this also gives most essential oil, a favourite Eastern perfume.

tugese still hold in a humble way the unwholesome townlet Delli or Dili on the North Coast, and take tribute from three quarters of the island.

Borneo, a fragment of Asia, and the largest bit of Malasia bisected by the equator, was discovered by Magellan in 1520. It was then called Pulo (Island) Kulamantan: the present name being confined to the city. Varthema, however, uses Bornei; and Barbosa Borney. Camoens specifies its camphor (x. 133): late analyses have shown that it differs in the proportion of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, from that of Sumatra, Java and Japan. Sunda (x. 134) is Java, the "regnum Zunde" of Patavino's Geography (1597): in old maps the group is still called the Isles of Sunda. Barbosa and those of his day follow the Arabs in separating Java Major from Java Minor (Sumbava).[1] The former, according to her own historians, was colonised by Hindús from Cling (Calinga); who gave her an era beginning B.C. 75. The Moors were subject to a pagan Maharajah called Patevdara or Pala-udora by Barbosa (p. 197). According to Crawfurd, the chief Hindu State was overthrown by El-Islam in A.D. 1478, when many Moors settled at the ports. The great island

In Europe "Sanderswood" is used chiefly for carving and wood-engraving; whilst the oil distilled from the chips adulterates ottar of roses. The tree is well described by my late friend, Dr. Bartholdy Seemann.

[1] It is more probable that the two original Javas were Java proper and Sumatra. Sumbava hardly deserves such a title.

was well known to Ibn Batutah : he found a Queen who, guarded by a troop of "Amazons," spoke Turkish, and wrote for him the "Bismillah." Java is supposed to have originated such Polynesian names as Hawaii, Samoa, and Savaii, in the far Pacific Ocean. The first Lieutenant-Governor of Java was Sir Stamford Raffles, when the island, including its dependency, Banca, was made over to the Dutch (1816), who first touched there in 1596. Here we read of Bintam (x. 57), explored by Henrique Leme, under Albuquerque in 1511; our Poet mentions it as waging fierce wars with Malacca. The "kingdom of Bantam," famed only for Lilliput fowls, is either in the Western end of Java, or it is the Island of Bentan.[1] Lastly we have a notice of a petrifying stream apparently borrowed from the "River Sabbaton" in Northern China : it rolls not water but stones for six days in the week, regularly resting on "the Sabbath" (Saturday).[2]

[1] There were several places of similar name. The Commentaries (iii. chap. xvii.) make the city of Malacca rise on the plain of Bintam. Pentam or Bintang, properly Bentan, was a considerable island at the East end of the Straits, conquered (fifteenth century) by the Rajahs of Javan Majopahit. After the Portuguese occupation it became the chief residence of the Malay Sultans, and still, nominally, belongs to him of Johor. Colonel Yule believes that it is the Bintam of Camoens (x. 57).

[2] My visit to Karyatayn, between Damascus and Palmyra (1870), caused no small excitement among the Israelites of the Capital. Near the former half-way station I found an escape of steam which had been converted into a Hammám : it struck work regularly on Saturday, when the pipe-like aperture in the rock which emitted the vapour felt cold to the arm : during the other six days it was in

All these lands are becoming of the highest interest to England, whose tenure of Indo-China is, perhaps, safer than that of India Proper. She is firmly established in Burmah, where, despite her best endeavours, annexation is being forced upon her. She reigns alone in New Zealand, and in the great Secondary or early Tertiary Continent, Australia, with its gradually-disappearing unique forms, animal and vegetable. She has lately been compelled, by the exigencies of steam navigation, to appropriate the islands in Torres Straits. Already the enthusiastic colonists of the "fifth Quarter" propose a grand scheme, "on the Dutch system," for combining Borneo with its settlements, Labuan and Sarawak; New Guinea; the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides (which France is reported to covet), with Tonga and Samoa (where the Germans have a footing). And the first costly step has been taken in "protecting" the Fiji group.

An anthropologist would not expect much from the success of this scheme. A tropical race of Englishmen appears impossible. But what he can look forward to,

full blast. This intermittent steam-spring probably gave rise to the "River Sabatorye," near Damascus; one of Maundevile's many travellers' tales. The legend is old: In Judæâ rivus Sabbatis omnibus siccatur, says Pliny (xxvi. 18). Josephus makes it a "Sabbath-(*i.e.* Saturday-)breaker" by flowing on that day, and being dry for the rest of the week. Hence the fabled Sabbatheon, whose flood of huge rocks, in sand-waves 60–200 cubits high, issued from the Garden of Eden. The ten "lost Tribes" now live beyond it.

and what he should aim at, is the eventual possession of all the South Temperate Regions. Already the flower of that hemisphere, New Zealand, is ours; and we hold Tasmania and the Cape, which in time will project herself into the Southern and habitable parts of Madagascar. The sole present exception is the Austral extremity of South America, lost to us by the incompetency of an English general at Buenos Aires; but even there emigration may succeed where campaigning failed.

CHAPTER V.

ANNOTATIVE.

NOTES TO CANTO I.

STANZA I.—This hopelessly-corrupted opening abounds in *variæ lectiones*, and offers a fair specimen of Lusiadic difficulties. Fons. (l. 2) has *per mares:* in Jur., who remarks that *per* and *pelos* (Fr. par) denote end, object, and motion; *por* and *polos* (Fr. pour), agency, prefers *por mares.* F. y S., and the Edits. of 1613 and 1631 expressed (l. 5) *que* (em perigos), unnecessarily repeating it from line 2: they forgot that "what is negligence in prose may become a beauty in poetry." F. and M. have *e em.* Ferr. (I. G. Ferreira or Gilmedo) changes *promettia* (l. 6) to permettia. Jur. has *ainda* (l. 4); Fons. *inda* as more musical. Mac. (Macedo) is hard upon *e entre* (line 7) for *entre:* the conjunction, found in the 2nd edit. (?) of 1572, is superfluous and was, perhaps, suggested by *E tambem* (St. ii.). There is also a scholiast-dispute about the "never navigated Seas" (l. 3), as if Camoens did not know the A, B, C of historic geography. I feel inclined (l. 1) to translate "Barons" with Byron:—

> Morgante answered, "Baron just and pious," &c.

But I reserve it for future use. The translator must prefer (l. 4) Taprobána to Milton's (Par. Reg., iv. 75),—

> And utmost Indian isle, Taprobané.

II.—This octave is also not satisfactory. Mac. (l. 4) complains that *devastando* is "injurious"; and introducing the Kings violates the law περὶ μίαν πράξιν: I have preserved the former as characteristic. Millié eloquently defends his Poet: the early reigns were spent, unhappily for Portugal, in expelling the "Moors"; and the latter in extending her sway over Africa and Asia.

III.—An irreverent Englishman compares this Stanza with the "spirit and wording of our good stupid old song,"—

Some talk of Alexander and some of Hercules, &c.

It wants only the "Tow row, row" of "The British Grenadier," still famous in insular military music.

IV. 1.—The "Tagides" (Tagian nymphs) are not, as some suppose, the women of Lisbon. They take the Muses' place till Calliope appears (iii. 1); hence the allusion (ll. 3–4) to his Canzons, Eclogues, &c. The sense is, in fact, Virgil's Ille ego; and Spenser's—

Lo! I, the man whose Muse whylome did maske.—F.Q., 1, 1, 1.

V. 4.—*Cor* ("colour") is mistranslated "heart" by Quillinan and Mitchell (comp. iv. 29, ll. 1, 2). In line 6 F. y S. would read *Marte* for *a Marte;* Fons. and Jur. *a que Marte* (from Man. Correa's edit. of 1613) for *que a Marte.* To their truly scholiastic reasoning that "Mars helps and is not helped" I can only cry *Prosa!* The whole Stanza has been blamed for "immodest exaggeration, vicious hypallage, and excessive hyperbole." It is one of the Poet's *ampullæ*; but the figure, although daring, is allowable; and the more so as the Poet, like Homer (Il. xv. 1) makes his Mars of the Earth earthy, a manner of *Valentam* (Bobadil). In the last line *preço* (price) represents by metonymy the thing appreciated:

so *peito* (pectus, breast) for courage, here and elsewhere: —*homem de peito*, a "man of spunk."

VI.—This invocation to D. Sebastiam, which runs on to S. xiii., and which balances the twelve final octaves (x. 145–156), has been much praised and dispraised. In line 7 the subjunctive *mande*, standing for the indicative *manda*, is, says Mac., a grammatical error. Camoens, however, often changes his moods for reasons best known to himself. Others would place the four words in a parenthesis and thus convert them into an ejaculation, a prayer ("May it, the marvel, command the whole of it, the world!").

VII.—The arms of Portugal are heraldically described in iii. 53–4. Lines 5–8 apparently refer to the epigram placed in the Saviour's mouth:—

> Vulnera nostra tibi, Rex, sunt insignia. Vici
> His quondam: vinces: sacra trophæa feres.

VIII.—The learned G. Buchanan thus addressed D. Joam III., with a British boast:—

> Inque tuis Phœbus regnis, oriensque cadensque,
> Vix longum fesso conderet axe diem;
> Et quæcumque vago se circumvolvit Olympo
> Affulget ratibus flamma ministra tuis.

Anglicè:—

> Rising and setting Phœbus from thy reign
> With wearied axle ne'er shall hide the Day;
> Where'er he vagueth o'er the Olympic plain
> Smiles on thy ships his ministering ray.

In l. 7, Gentío is the Gentilis (idol-worshipper, whence the Gentilitas or Gentile world) of Christian latinity; the Pagan (villager) who represents the Goi (plur. Goim) of the Hebrew. The Portuguese apply it to Moslems, but not so generally as to Hindús (x. 14). They accent

the penultimate, and we say indifferently Gen-too and Gentoo'. By "sacred River" (l. 8) La Harpe and others misunderstand Jordan for Ganges (vii. 20).

IX. 3.—Já = Jam, ἤδη, *αυτίκα* "already, whilom, anon, whilere, as well as": a favourite Portuguese word used in a variety of senses and sounds.

X. 5.—*Ouvi; vereis*, &c. ("Hark; thou shalt see") reads Hibernically; but the ellipse is "Hear (me the praiser and) thou shalt view." So Æschylus (Agam.): "Nor voice nor form of mortal snalt thou see," a well-known grammatical figure which in Shak. becomes "to spy an I can hear my Thisby's face" (v. 1). After the Battle of Vittoria a Royal Order (Nov. 13, 1813) allowed the Infantry Corps of two Brigades to carry on its colours the last couplet of this Stanza, which is known to every Portuguese. The quotation was deformed by two blunders, according to Snr. José Silvestre Ribeiro, who wrote a kind of "Wit and Wisdom of Camoens" (p. 11, *Estudo moral e politico sobre os Lusiadas*, Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1853).

XI. 8.—Alluding to the Ruitlandus, Rutlandus, Rotolando, Orlando, Roland (Ro-land, not Roland') of Ariosto, i. 2, &c. His statue became in Neo-Latin cities a symbol of civic freedom; and Dalmatian Ragusa still preserves it.

XII. 1.—Nuno is "The Great Constable" (iv. 23–4, &c. Egas and Fuas. are referred to in iii. 35, and in viii. 13, &c. and 17. Mac. calls the conjunction *tambem* (6, 7) "the most inexcusable error of the Lusiads," as it makes the Hero a mere accessory to the Poem. He proposes:—

> *Mas por todos vos dou o illustre Gama*, &c.
> (But chief I give thee that illustrious Gama).

I cannot appreciate the objection; and think, with

Millié, that the Hero is introduced immediately after the great names of History with a certain pomp of expression.

XIII. 1.—Some refer Carlos to Charles VII., "the Victorious": it applies far more forcibly to the Emperor of the West (A.D. 800), Karl der Grosse, Carolus Magnus, or rather to the Charlemagne of legend, whose Court supplied Ariosto with a subject; who was so long a "redivivus"; whose reign of half a century began the "Middle Ages"; whom the priests of Aix-la-Chapelle addressed :—

> Rex mundi triumphator,
> Jesu Christi coregnator;

and whom Calliope places ("The Tears of the Muses," 462, &c.)

> ——— Amongst the starrés seven.

Hence the Helice ("wheeler") of the Greeks, the Latin Ursa Major and the "Woden's Wain" of Scandinavia became "Charles' Wain," not as some suppose Chorles (Ceorl) or Churl's Wain. Camoens (x. 88) terms it the Carreta or Chariot (the ἅμαξα of Homer, Il. xviii. 487); refers to the Bears (v. 15), and notes the "Sevenfold flame" (viii. 72), by whose alpha the Greeks steered: he repeatedly mentions Jupiter's nurse, the Cynosure (Little Bear), whose alpha guided the Phœnicians. Equally poetic is the Arab name Banát el-Jahd in such phrases as "When man grows poor, his friends, heretofore compact as the knot of the Suráyyá (Pleiades), disperse wide asunder as the Daughters (mourners) of the Bier." This is taken from the old Egyptian "Coffin of Osiris."

XIV. 2.—The line is cacophonous, and here begins, what Mac. spitefully calls *O vergonhoso bordão do*—"*lá*" (the shameful burden of *lá*=there), "which can be par-

doned only by Camonian sectarians and idolaters." But Comp. Dante (Inf., xxxiii. 80);—

Del bel paese là dove il *sì* suona.

In line 4 the Almeidas (father and son) are duo fulmina belli. Fons. retains Barros' "Alboquerque" (de albo, for *albâ*, quercu), the popular "Albuquerque" (l. 7).

XVI. 2.—*Exício* (from exitium) is here used by the Poet instead of the vulgar *estrago* found in other places. Mac. derides the "sacrament of marriage" (ll. 7–8), forgetting that the Doges espoused the Adriatic; and that the Portuguese claimed the heirship to their sea-sovereignty. Besides, the sentiment is simply Virgilian (Georg. i. 30).

XVII. 3.—The "grandsires twain" are the peaceful D. Joam III. and the warlike Charles Quint. Pax is angelic, because announced by angels when the Saviour was born: she is golden because she ruled in the fabled Age of Gold.

XVIII.—Here ends the Dedication, or Nuncupation, forming part of the exordium.

On ll. 5–6–7

E vereis * * *
* * * porque vejam
Que sam vistos * * *

Ferr. pithily remarks *he muito ver* ('tis too much "seeing"). I have retained the characteristic repetition with which many will find fault. Millié (l. 8) here assigns to Camoens an "extreme superiority" over Virgil (Ecl. iv. 38; and Georg. i. 4).

XIX.—This is the opening of the narrative, the Arché proper. It is sudden and striking. *Navigavam*, "they (the Argonauts of the last stanza) were sailing" up the

Mozambique Channel before a fair wind, but weary and wanting rest. So the Æneid, without naming the Trojans, begins with the Syrtes-storm. Mac. blames the Poet for *Próteo* instead of *Prothéo*, which is found in the Rejected Stanzas. "Here commence those errors of metre which are not only numerous but innumerable." The Poet, however, follows Virgil (Georg. iv. 422),—

Intus se vasti Proteus tegit obice saxo.

In line 7 the "waters consecrate" is in Catholic sense, "Spiritus Domini ferebatur super aquas."

XX. 6.—The Via Lactea is Ovid's "Est via sublimis" (Met. i. 168).

XXI. 1.—The *mise-en-scène* is vague enough if "Olympus" be derived with the dictionaries from ὅλος λαμπρός—wholly luminous. Critics have made merry over this Gods' council, or heavenly States-General. Ferr. remarks that Jupiter's speech preserves Aristotle's Exordium, Confirmation, and Peroration: he facetiously asks whether the "god Sterculius" was also there? Mac. captiously observes, that if the Deities all left the government of the skies, Jupiter, who rules one of the Seven Heavens, must also have abandoned it: ergò the conclave met nowhere. Camoens takes the Olympian court of the Hellene Gods for whom Homer provided twenty chairs, mentioning eighteen names: the other two, it is suggested, may be Gaia (Terra) and Paikon (the Healer). After Egyptian fashion the Helloi divided their numina into three ranks: the first contained eight, the second twelve, and the third was a promiscuous crowd. The Diana of Camoens is Artemis or Καλά, the fair goddess; and his Zephyr (Wester) is the Primate of the Winds. The first lines are a fine Epanodos, giving great energy to the sentence.

XXII.—Millié admires this classical Jupiter, and

compares with him the "only good verses ever written by Chapelain:"—

> Loin des murs flamboyants qui renferment le monde,
> Dans le centre caché d'une clarté profonde,
> Dieu repose en lui-même, et, vêtu de splendeur
> Sans bornes, est rempli de sa propre grandeur.

XXIII. 8.—Mac. blames *horrendo* as an epithet better fitted for Pluto.

XXV. 8.—The "pendent trophies" await the Portuguese hand, a fine hypotyposis.

XXVI. 1.—*Deixo*, etc. Camoens' favourite figure Præteritio: Viriatus and Sertorius are chosen as the typical soldiers of olden Portugal.

XXVII. 4.—Comp. Æneid i. 85. Afer is the S.S. Wester, the Ital. Garbino from the Arab. el-Gharb = solis occasus: the latter word in its form Ereb (the West) explains "Europe" and "Erebus" (= Amenti), the land of the setting sun. Afer's seat is between Zephyrus and Notus, alias Auster, the Souther. The last line becomes in Tasso, who so often reflects Camoens,—

> E mirar dove nasce e muore il giorno.

XXVIII. 1.—Mac. remarks that Eternal Fate (our Reign of Law) is superior to Jove; ergò it is a truism to say that its law is infrangible. Elsewhere Fate becomes *Fados Grandes*, an expression found faulty. But those hyper-gods, the Parcæ, are represented in a Christian poem as unimportant compared with Providence: the ungodly gods confess their omnipotence, and at once begin to oppose them. Hence Racine (*fils*), in the Preface to his "Translation of Milton," declared The Lusiads to be a *relation de voyage* in which the Pagan deities are made ridiculous. As regards man's Fate Camoens seems to hold with M. Guizot, *L'homme est un être libre, s'agitant dans une sphère fatale.*

XXX.—Here enters Bacchus, the Puer Eternus, the Deus bi-mater. The thigh-sewn Bacchus (Homer, Hymn) who died, was buried and rose again, has been explained by deriving *μῆρος* from Mount Meru, the Olympus of Hinduism. Orpheus (hymn 30) calls him *Διόνυσον, Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα.* Iacchus (son of Ceres) is said to be a mystic name referring to the *Ἰαχή*, or frantic shouting of women votaries; but the first syllable is the Semitic root, Iáh or Yáh (יה, is, or, will be), the Assyrian god Iav, Ih or Ihoh, also Iábe, which we find in Jehovah and Jove. "Sabazius," the Phrygian term (Aristoph., Wasps) is evidently the Pers. Sabz or Sabzeh, Bhang, *Cannabis sativa*, the intoxicating hemp. In India Camoens may have been told of Krishna, the popular Avatár (incarnation) and his Nymphs; a strange mixture of Bacchus and the Gospel of Infancy, compounded with the usual Hindú inconsequence, redundance, and grotesqueness.

Despite Bacon's great fame, his explanation of "Bacchus" by the Passions (Instaur. Magna, ii. 13) is not admissible. He neglects the foundation of truth, of historic fact upon which all fable was everywhere built. We should look upon the wine-god as some Syrian or Assyrian soldier-conqueror who, before the days of Semiramis (B.C. 2017–1965?) marched Eastward, plundered Western India and, like Noah, taught viticulture. The industry could not have been in India, which mostly ignored the vine and grape-wine.

Mac. complains, not without reason, that Camoens makes the jolly god play a ridiculous and contemptible part; here of *hum mentecapto* (an idiot) for opposing Fate; and elsewhere of *hum bebado cobardo* (a drunken coward). I will add that if Bacchus, as some have supposed, represent "teetotal" El-Islam, the choice is peculiarly unhappy. Like Milton's "Satan," Bacchus is doomed to fight, and to fight without hope. As Millié says, mythology being

once admitted, and Bacchus preferred to Armida and Beelzebub, the use made of this ancient Conqueror of India is reasonable and artistic.

XXXI. 4.—Doris in the Latin poets is the Sea, the daughter of Oceanus: Camoens (vi. 20) marries her to Nereus ("water," from a root now obsolete, but preserved in the Romaic "neró"). Like Tethys (i. 16, 5) she subjected herself to the Portuguese, whereas the Macedonian preferred the land.

The allusion to Nysa or Nyssa (l. 8) is thoroughly classical. The vulgar derivation of Dionysos is Διϝνος and Νύσα = King of Nysa: it is the Assyrian Dian- (or Daian-) Nisi, Judge of Men; alias the Sun. Hence Herodotus (iii. 8) tells us that the Arabs worshipped only Dionysus, who was also Osiris (Plutarch J. et O., cap. xxviii.). The "Nysæan Bacchus" (Aristoph., Frogs) is derived from a host of places: one lies in Arabia (Diodorus Sic., iii. 63); another in India (built by Osiris, ibid. i. 19), where Bacchus was brought up by the Nymphs; others are above Egypt in Æthiopia (Herod. ii. 146); in Parthia (Nyssa, near Elburz); in Lydia, Cilicia, Caria, Syria, Pisidia, Cappadocia, Armenia, Persia, Babylon, Erythea, Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Naxos, and Eubœa (Hesychius).

The Median "Campi Nisæi" of Herod. (vii. 40), which produced the tall white horses of the sun, are transferred by Rawlinson (Journ. R. G. Soc., ix. 1, 100) to Khorasan, still famed for Turkoman horses. The Behistun Inscrip. (col. i. par. 3) mentions Nisaya or Nisæa, now the plains of Khawah. Strabo (lib. xii.) studied at the Carian Nysa (hod. Sultán-Hissár?); and Nice or Nicæa, capital of Bithynia, was famous in the Middle Ages. The Nisaia or Nesaia (Νησαία) of Strabo has been identified with Nissa, north of the Elburz Mountain. Ptolemy's Νίσαια (vi. 10, 4) and Nigaia or Nigæa in vi.

10, 4) lies in N. Lat. 41° 10′; the Rhages (of Alexander's day); Rhea, Ray, Hari or Herat, being in N. Lat. 40° 30′. The usual account of Nysa makes it a "district of Northern Parthia, bordering on Hyrcania and Margiana, famed for horses: there was a city of the same name upon the Upper Oxus; either the birthplace of Bacchus or built by him."

XXXII. 1.—Mickle introduces a novelty of his own into *Venus bella*:—

> Urania Venus, Queen of Sacred Love, etc.

But St. xxxiv. shows that Cytherean Venus is meant. Mac. contends that the *Clara Dea* should be Maria Santissima; and he bitterly derides the philological bias of the Love-goddess.

XXXIV. 1.—Cythera (Κυθήρη) Island, from Athara or Atargates, the Love-goddess of the Phœnicians, who colonised the Island.

XXXV.—Sismondi says of this stanza, "The tumult of the Gods' deliberations is described in one of the happiest and most brilliant images." It certainly obeys Pope's law of representative versification,—

> The sound must seem an echo to the sense.

Johnson used to quote as his model Cowley's river,—

> Which runs, and, as it runs, for ever shall run on.

Here the onomatopoetic wealth of sibilants, sounding a storm as well as showing it, on the Montanha or forested height, has been generally overlooked by translators.

XXXVI. 3–4.—The dilemma of Mars in the matter of assisting Venus, besides his turbulence and disrespect for Jupiter, and his lawlessness to the Parcæ, whose laws may not be broken, has been severely criticised.

XXXIX. 6.—Stomachus, meaning "intention," courage, our old "Stomach," is a word which has been curiously corrupted by the neo-Latins. Fanshaw renders *estomago* (or *estamago*) *damnado*:—

'Tis an ill stomach rising at good cheare.

Mac. makes Mars charge Bacchus with an indigestion: Ferr. kindly suggests over-copious potations (*teria bebido demasiadamente*). The terminal couplet inveighing against Envy, attacks, say the Portuguese, a national foible: and Ribeiro (p. 17) quotes the eloquent Vieira's *Sermam de Santo Antonio* (vol. xii. pp. 252–94).

XLII.—Here the main action becomes *μία καὶ ἁπλοῦς*; and, after a Proemium "de omnibus rebus," and a long rambling Dedicatory, high art is shown in concentrating attention upon the Fleet. The sun enters Pisces (March 11, 1498). Venus and Cupid, to escape Typhœus, being ferried over the Euphrates by fishes, whence the constellation Pisces, is from Ovid (Met. v. 321).

XLV. 1.—*Eis* is the "ecce" of the Æneid (ii. 203, &c.), our "lo!" (which is "look!"). For a description of the "Batel" see Lt. Low's History of the Indian Navy (i. 169): I also have described the craft of this coast in "Zanzibar," vol. i. ch. iv.

XLVI. 4.—The mat-sails are still used for the long thin "dug-outs" of East Africa. The dêrmatology of the Negro is Ovid's (Met. ii. 235); and Phaeton, here and elsewhere, is from the Æneid (x. 189).

XLVII. 1–4.—Translators mistake the meaning of this passage. The natives wear two cotton *pagnes*, a waist-cloth, and a shoulder-cloth; the Indian Do-pattá, noticed by Arrian (Indica, cap. xvi.). The loose covering would be tucked under the arm (*sobraçado*) when the wearer prepares to climb a ship's side. Mickle

has "'twas one whole piece"; Musgrave, "Some wore them round the body"; for "some (cloths) they wear," &c. Many edits (line 6) have *Adagas* (daggers), others prefer *Adargas* (dag-targes, from the Arab. Ed-darakah, the shield), thus naming defensive armour and offensive arms. The Roteiro (p. 151) makes the Adarga = *parma, scutum:* Ferr. rightly explains it by *escudos pequenos.* Jubinal ("Armeria Real" of Madrid, pl. xxxii.) shows the Adarga to be a short spear with a broad targe-like hand-guard, whence a dagger projects at a right angle. Europe took the hint by arming the hand-guard with one or more poniards: the little shield, also, with a blade projecting horizontally, is not unknown to collections. The *terçado* is a broad-sword one third (*terço*) shorter than full size: I have rendered it "matchet" (*machete*), the kind of cutlass still in use. Fanshaw translates "Skeyns and crooked faulchions." Quillinan has "scimitars and shields": Mitchell, "daggers and scimitars": both had done better to follow their Poet. I have noted that *Touca* (l. 8) is a light cap, far more sailorlike and common on the East Coast than the turban: the difference is that of a glengarry and a "top-hat." The whole stanza has the picturesqueness and the exquisite fidelity of Mr. Baines' African pictures: it might have been drawn to-day.

XLVII. 7.—Mac. blames this line for its nautical technicalities; nor did Dryden escape censure for the same fault (?). Quillinan translates the couplet:—

* * * clash
The anchors go and wounded waves upflash.

In this stanza the *gente* (epibatæ, men-at-arms, marines), are distinguished from the *marinheiros* (sailors).

XLIX.—Osorio tells us that the strangers were supposed to be "Turks," or Mediterranean Moslems;

and the natives refused to believe the assertion that they were Portuguese. These Wasawahíli negroids do not object to eat and drink with Christians: the "Catual," being a Hindú, must reject their hospitality (vii. 75). . .

L. 7–8.—Montesquieu, says Millié, found in this and in other passages an "heroic simplicity," like "Sum pius Æneas." It reminded him of the Odyssey, in which men ask voyagers, "Who are you, and from whom"? "Where are your city and your people"? Mac. remarks that in those days the only Portuguese were in the West. But the "Occident" is specified in order to emphasise the exploit of having reached the East.

LI. This stanza has been much criticised. East-African Moslems would not know the Antarctic Pole (?), nor that Callisto was metamorphosed into Ursa Major. The Portuguese had by no means circumnavigated Africa like the ancients. The Negroids could hardly appreciate the allusion to Acheron or Periphlegethon. Lastly, to assert that the voyagers were ready at the royal word to explore the Inferno is somewhat bombastic. This is all hyper-criticism: the Portuguese would tell the visitors what they were, certainly not without exaggeration; and the stanza poetically expresses their prose.

LII. 4.—"Ugly seals," an unjust and inappropriate term from the Georgics (iv. 395):—

Et turpes pascit sub gurgite phocas.

LIII. 1–2.—Some refer the couplet, which I have purposely left doubtful, to El-Islam, then held to be a compound of Judæism and Arab idolatry. Others see in it Mohammed, who claimed descent from Ishmael: no Moslem, however, would say that he was of Hebrew blood. His father, Abdullah, and his mother, Amínah, were pure Arabs, pagans of the Kuraysh tribe. The

Hebrews (Simeonites?) were, however, powerful in the Moslem's Holy Land; and hence the vulgar report which made the apostle's uncle a Jew.

LVI. 1.—*Mouro* here is not a "Moor" proper, a Maroccan. The Moslems of Mozambique were either Southern Arabs, long domiciled upon the African coast, or their bastard kinsmen, the Wasawahíli. Many of these half-castes worked the ships by which the Hindú Banyans connected Africa with Arabia and India. The "Moor" of Camoens, meaning simply "Moslem," was used by a past generation of Anglo-Indians, who called the Urdu or Hindostani dialect "The Moors": traces of it survive in the Benighted Presidency (Madras).

LVII. 1.—*Frotá* (metonymy "continens pro re quæ continetur") is here used for rhyme or variety: properly it is a merchantman-fleet opposed to an Armada. In line 7 the idea of El-Islam being a sect (*seita*) shows the extreme views of the Poet's day: the Moslems were the first "Reformers" of Christianity.

LVIII.—The unexpected charms of this stanza suggest Tassoni. As Pope (Il. viii.) expanded the five lines of the night-view into twelve, so Mickle here spread the first six into fourteen, beginning with :—

> The moon, full-orbed, forsakes her watery cave (?)
> And lifts her lovely head above the wave.

His sweet and flowing verse seems to anticipate the "Curse of Minerva"; but it abjures the masterly simplicity of Camoens. In line 2 the stars are signs of fair weather (Iliad viii., in fine).

LIX. 1.—*Marchetada*, according to F. y S. is=*esmaltada*, or enamelled, from *esmalte* (enamel), a word often used by Camoens in the sense of bright and changeable colours. It has not the secondary notion attributed by Mr. Ruskin ("Mod. Painters," iii. 228) to the same term in

Dante's Inferno. Hyperio (l. 4) in Homer is the Sun: in Hesiod they are father and son.

LX. 8.—Alluding to Constantine Palæologus and the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II., some forty-five years before Da Gama's voyage. Despite Mac.'s assertion, the "Moors" of Mozambique would have heard all the details. Some by *Constantino* understand the Great, when it means the Little: the difference is shown by the apocryphal inscription on the famous bronze pillar at Byzantium: "Constantinus me construxit: Constantinus me destruet."

LXII. 4.—The Portuguese applied "barbarous" to the Arabic tongue as the Arabs did to Greek; Gibbon marvels at the latter; I at the former.

LXIII. 3.—"Law, precept, and faith," the figure synonymy.

LXIV. 6.—*Enojosas*=ennuyeux, langweilig, irksome, tedious, annoying. So Petrarch:—

Nojosa, inesorabile, e supèrba.

Commentators object that Da Gama abuses Moslems to Moslems. But Camoens (and Byron) knew better the racial hatred between Turks and Arabs ("First Footsteps," etc., pp. 68–9).

LXVI. 1.—"Dei Filius est Deus et homo est." *Te sería* (l. 6) is for *te será*, with the difference of an added conditionality: the idiom is common in French.

LXVII. 3.—"Harness" means all kinds of defensive "armour" i.e. *armure*, Fr.). The *espingarda* (hand-gun) is said to be an anachronism: but see note on Canto vii. 12.

LXIX. 5.—*Mostras*=words and deeds: *Gesto*=aspect, "vultus" not "gestus" (comp. ii. 101).

LXXI. 1.—An epiphonema explaining what preceded. In line 5, Eternity is=Pater Æternus.

LXXII. 5.—Camoens wrote in the spirit of his age: we can afford some of our sympathy to the unfortunate Shaykh who proved himself so clear-sighted.

LXXIII.—*Comsigo estas palavras praticava* is an emphatic pleonasm.

LXXV. 1.—*Os Deoses* are the Parcæ. *Arte* (l. 6) is = *industria*. The Roman (l. 7) is Trajan. Mac., noting that Bacchus (ll. 7–8) resigns himself to the Macedonian's numbers, but objects to being beaten by a squadron-crew, calls this "in good Portuguese, *huma razão de cabo da esquadra*,"—a *corporal's* reasoning.

LXXVII. 8.—Millié quotes Ronsard's Mars, who, jealous for the fame of France, thus descends from Olympus:—

> Puis comme un trait roidement s'élança
> Dedans Buthrote, ou sa forme laissa,
> Et prit le corps, l'allure et le visage
> D'un vieil Troyen aux affaires très sage.

LXVIII. 5.—The voyagers had touched at four places, Santa Elena, Sam Bras, Rio-dos-Reis, and Rio-dos-Bons-Sinaes.

LXIX. 8.—The very words which an African would now use.

LXXX., 2.—*Por agua* ("for water" or "by water") is amphibologic, I hold it to be one of the usual conceits, "going for water to land."

LXXXI. 1.—Some read *geito* (mode or way): others *feito*, a fact, thing done, feat *i.e.*, of fight. The pleonasm (l. 6) is the Æneid (ii. 152), "dolis instructus et arte Pelasgâ." Line 8 is a *caterva de vozes*, a heaping up of words to express fury.

LXXXII. 1–3.—A "labyrinth of grammar." *Acabou* (l. 1) "he ended," refers to the Bacchus-Moor: *Lançou* (l. 3), "he cast" to the Shaykh-Moor.

LXXXIV. 1.—*Raio* (ray) synechdoche for *Raios* (rays).

The epithet *accendido* (l. 2) is not admired. I have noted that Nabathæa (Ovid's Met. i. 61, and Ariosto, O. F. xv. 12) is for "the East" generally; here equivalent to our "high Malvern hill." *Apercebido* (l. 4), according to some, means as Bacchus had foretold.

LXXXV. 5–8.—"Ne credas inimicum tuum in æternum" (Eccles. xii. 10).

LXXXVI. 3.—*Embraçado* = armado: I presume it means slung on the arm.

LXXXVII. 1.—*Ribeira alva, arenosa*, a disjunctive, not conjunctive. *Caes* (canes), in l. 6, and Canto iii. 48, is noted by Mac. as a "very vulgar and low expression; unworthy of the Epopee." Musgrave quotes Odyssey xxii.; and the reader will remember certain canine and asinine comparisons in the Iliad. The Roteiro shows the use of *estes perros* (these hounds).

LXXXVIII.—This stanza is greatly admired for its spirit, its "terse linking of familiar images, and the swiftness of its utterance." Lines 4 and 8 balance one another; and the five and four verbs, with only one conjunction, give wonderful expression and energy. Compare Bernardo Tasso, ix. 63. *Bramando duro corre* (l. 7) is a Hellenism.

LXXXIX. 1–4.—The short incisive sibilants imitate the discharge of the bombards (great guns).

XC. 8.—Nothing can be truer to life than the Shaykh abusing, not his adviser, but his adviser's mother; Us-kí mán-kí . . . . suggests itself to every Anglo-Indian. Some editions so punctuate the passage that it means: —The old man (men) and mother (mothers) that bear children blaspheme the wars." Hence Aubertin, who, however, preserves the usual stops, has:—

> Decrepid age and she who sons hath bore.

XCI. 3.—*Pedra* (stone) is smaller than *Canto* (ashlar,

hewn stone). Line 4 is the Æneid i. 154. Line 8 shows that Camoens had studied the ground.

XCII. 1.—The *Almadía* (Almadie) is the Arabo-African canoe or dug-out; properly El-Máziyah, the ferry boat.

XCIII. 2.—*Despojo* = spolia, exuviæ, taken from the enemy's person: *Presa* (præda) = anything plundered; the Anglo-Indian "loot."

XCIV.—The figure Expositio. Line 4 is Cicero: "sub nomine pacis bellum latet."

XCVI. 3.—Castera would make the Nereids symbolise the Virtues, which is uncalled for. Mac. declares (l. 5) that an idiot could not be more appropriately described than is Da Gama. How, he asks, could Captain or Pilots, with the "Ruttier" of B. Dias in hand, fail to perceive that they were being steered the wrong way? But Dias never saw the Mozambique Channel.

XCIX. 8.—Mac. stigmatises this line :—

Quilŏă (Kílwá), muy conhecida pela fama,

as an *erradissimo verso.* It is, however, etymologically correct as usual. Fanshaw, Musgrave, and Quillinan euphonically mispronounce it Quilóa. Line 5.—*Em terra tão remota*, says Ferr., appears *aqui pegado com obrèa*,—here stuck in with a wafer.

CII. 8.—*Barra* means a river-embouchure, which may or may not have a "bar" proper; in Africa it usually has. *Faz barra* is said of a river, or a sea-arm anastomosing with another sea-arm or disemboguing into the ocean. This "River of Mombasah" is the narrow sea-strait which makes the island.

CIV.—The short sketch of Mombasah is perfect.

CVI. 8.—"Ego sum vermis,"—true of him who thinks it.

Notes to Canto II.

Stanza 1.—This description of a spring-sunset (April 7) when the night-god (Vesperus or Erebus, Morpheus or Somnus) opens the Gate of Darkness for Phœbus, is much praised by F. D. Gomes, and blamed for its obscurity by Mac. Fons. and Jur. read, with Man. Correa, *infidas* in lieu of *fingidas* (l. 6).

I.—An African chief always sends a trusted kinsman or attendant as "Mouf," to greet strangers and to spy out everything.

VI. 8.—The "Faithless" are the Faithful generally: *Se fia da infiel* is the normal Camonian oxymoron, antithesis or opposition, not without a suspicion of jingle.

VII.—As was advocated by St. Augustine in the case of the Donatists, criminals were not put to death, but applied to hazardous enterprises, with chance of pardon: thus D. Joam III. and his age solved an enigma which puzzles the nineteenth century.

VIII. 3.—The figure coacervatio or synonomia, *Fè de mouro* in Port. is = *Punica* or *Græca fides*, —the Slav Passia-vira (dog-faith).

IX.—The last couplet is St. Gregory's "mens prava semper in laboribus est."

XI.—Camoens is abused by many for this stanza, in which F. G. Diaz finds a picture worthy of Correggio. The Phœnix is Pliny's (x. 2): the last couplet alludes to Acts ii. 2–4.

XII. 3—Panchaia or Panchæa (l. 5) is the Dofar Coast, East Arabia.

XIII. 8.—*Moça* (wench for wife) did not then bear the light sound and sense it now does. The Latins

civilly said "Tithoni splendida conjux": Tassoni impudently :—

La putanella del canuto amante.

XIX. 4.—Explained by Boscan (Leandre y Hero),—

——de la alta Venus
Pues que en el mar naciò, y en ella reina.

XX. 3.—The Edit. Princ. and the other dated 1572 read Cloto (Clotho the Fate) for the (Nereia) Doto of the Æneid (ix. 102) and the Iliad (xviii. 40, etc.). Nise is Nisæa (ibid. : v. 822). Some critics find a pleasant novelty in this treatment of Venus and the Nereids; Mac. objects to their being turned into remoræ or sucking-fishes.

XXI. 1.—"Hunc vehit immanis Triton" (Æn. x. 209); wherein Triton is a ship. Here and in xxxiii. 2, Dione, daughter of Ocean and mother of Venus, after Neo-Latin fashion is confounded with Dionæa, her offspring.

XXIII.—The Ants (like the Frogs in xxvii.) are Homeric, a *lieu commun* to old Poets, Virgil, Horace, Apollonius Rhodius, etc.; when no Lubbock had divided them into the three stages of human society, hunter, shepherd, and agriculturist. *Accomodado* (l. 2) = proportioned to their powers. Hostile winter (l. 4) is A. de Musset's "disease of the year": "omne frigus inimicum Naturæ."

XXIV. 3.—*Maream velas;* they trim sails to catch the wind. *Mestre* (l. 5) is Magister, the Pilot, Pero de Alemquer.

XXV. 1.—Fons. inverts the words to *Medonha celéuma:* the latter (alluded to by Lucan, ii. 694) is from Rutilius and other classics :—

Dum resonant variis vile celèuma modis.

It is more properly "Celeusma," the cry of the "Cele-

ustes," who kept time for the oarsmen. In vulgar Port. the word is *Faina.*

XXIX. 1.—*Estranheza* is an Italianism; here meaning ill-conduct, villany, and "excesses" in Canto iii. 122. The minor miracle (l. 8), when the ships passing into port were driven back, as it were by some invisible hand (probably a current), is quoted at full length by Mitchell (p. 285) from Osorio.

XXXI. 6.—*Enganos tão fingidos* (snares so feigned), an emphatic pleonasm.

XXXIII. 6.—The third sphere is that of Mercury: perhaps it is a slip for the fourth (heaven of Venus), where the goddess would be at home.

XXXIV. 1.—Like all others I have mistranslated (1st Edit.) this passage: *affrontada* means flushed, rosy. The stanza ends with an image familiar to the romantic poets: so Petrarch, Canc. viii.

XXXV. 1-4.—Meaning nude, as at the Judgment of Paris. L. 7, *Galgo*, a "greyhound," i.e., Canis Graius, Greek dog, is a misnomer, because, as the tomb-pictures show, it comes from Egypt, where the dog has a long history. It is the Lat. Vertragus, the Arab Sulúkí, and its original habitat was probably El-Nejd or Central Arabia.

XXXVI. 5.—*Petrina* = girdle: so Arnaud de Marneil:—

> Dona genser, acha-se
> Mento e gola e peitrina
> Blanca co neus ni flor d'espina.

Quillinan here throws ss. xxxvi. and xxxvii. into one; Mitchell, disregarding rhyme, leaves ll. 4–8 in Port.

XXXVII. 1.—*Cendal* is Low-Latin *Cendalum* (Ducange)=thin silk: it is the "Zendado" of Ariosto (vii. 28; xxxviii. 50), and Fairfax (Tasso, viii. 55):—

And now in Sendal wrapt away he bore
That head, etc.

XL. 8.—*Quero-lhe querer, mal* ("I will to will them ill"), is a jingle, which says the scholiast *cheira de escola* (smells of the school).

XLI.—The Aposiopesis or Reticentia is the Æneid's "Quos ego" (i. 135). After *fui* we must understand *mofina* (the Arab. Mihnat), "so hapless, so sorrowful."

XLII. 4–8.—Translators have scamped these lines. Fanshaw gives:—

Who, had he hated Portugal before,
Would now have loved it meerly on *her* score.

Quillinan omits Cupid: Mitchell preserves the Portuguese; and Aubertin has had the good sense to translate literally.

XLIV.—Jupiter's speech is rather geographical than chronological: he begins at Mozambique, and ends at the Aurea-Chersonese (Malacca). It must be confessed that here as in Canto x. Camoens abuses the privilege of poetic prophecy; but not so notably as Ariosto (Canto xxxiv., etc.). Mac. severely blames the *Vejais* and *Vereis* (ye shall see), which here begin in force: some stanzas (e.g. xlvi.) contain the word thrice repeated.

XLV. 3–4.—A translation of the Æneid (i. 246). There is great uncertainty about the site of this classical Timavus; which Strabo calls the "Mother of the sea"; and which explains Timachus, Tham-isis, Thames, and Tamar. Virgil may allude to the modern Timavo, which, however, is, and ever was, wholly unconnected with Antenor's city. It cannot be Lucan's (vii. 6), who represents an Augur sitting on the Eugaian Hills, where Aponus (Abano) rises, and where the waters of Timavus are dispersed in various channels: this would be the Tila-

vento, the Brenta, or the Bacchiglione of Padua. Pliny (iii. 18) places it in the region of Carnia (Caer=a stony tract?), and the Timavo is still one of the "wonders of the *Carso*," the highland plateau of limestone which separates the Adriatic from the great Valley of the Danube. The river, locally called "la Recca," heads in the Dletvo forest on the N. Western flank of the Trestnik or Trstennik ("cane-ground") Mountain, in the range Della Vena, that parts the Istrian Peninsula from its Continent. Thence it rolls a shallow stream to the W.-N.-West in a well-defined valley, 37.9 kilom. long, to the village of S. Canzian, 316.6 metres above S. L. Here it rushes at a high wall of rock, tunnels it, and disappears underground, where the Carso is honey-combed by caverns, Barathra and Katabothra. It can be visited at Trebich (10.4 kil. and 19 metres above S. L.) by descending a series of rifts. Still flowing underground, after 18.96 kilom., a total of 67.86, of which twenty-nine are subterraneous, it gushes out of the Carso flank at S. Giovanni di Tuba, near Duino, a church which preserves the memory of the Thracian Diomede, and where the Angel will blow the last trumpet (tuba). Here it appears in several large *Polle* (emissaries), as they call these fountains, which resemble those of similar formation, Libanus. The number, usually three, which may be split into seven, varies with the season and the tide-height. They anastomose in the Mandria de S. Giovanni, a straight and ditch-like channel, a mile long, and useful to coasting-craft. This "Timavus" (proper) flows into the Adriatic head, near the Thermæ of Monfalcone, where in former days a double island of limestone arose from the now dried up Stagna Timavi.

XLVI. 8.—The "Higher Law" is Christianity.

XLVII. 3.—Neptune is a metonymy for the ocean.

This sea-quake is related by Barros (iii. 9, 1) and Castanheda (vi. 7). When Da Gama, become Viceroy, was returning for the third time to India, the waters of the Cambay Gulf trembled in a dead calm before dawn on Sept. 6th, 1524. The crews were frightened; but the veteran, with a presence of mind worthy of Epaminondas and Cæsar, exclaimed *Amigos, prazer e alegria, o mar treme de nós* ("Rejoice, my friends, the sea trembles at us").

XLVIII. 1.—The Mozambique. Line 5 alludes to the Zanzibar Coast.

XLIX. 3–6.—In a naval fight off Hormuz Island between Albuquerque and the Persians, the latter were wounded by their own arrows driven back by a furious wind (Barros, ii. 2, 3). As the Portuguese had no bows, this accident became quasi-miraculous.

L. 5.—The best editions read *o grão* Mavorte (great Mars); *grão* Pacheco, and even *grão* Rainha (regina). Perhaps the word would better be written *gran'* (for grande), *gram* and *grand'* being also found in good MSS. *Grão* would etymologically mean granum, grain.

LII. 6.—Alluding to Duarte Pacheco Pereira: see Canto v. 12–25. *Insolente* is used as in Bóileau (Epit. iv. 58):—

Et depuis ce Romain, dont l'insolent passage, etc.

LIII.—This stanza, imitated from the Æneid (viii. 685), is full of Latinisms. Mars (l. 1) is the usual metonymy for war, battle. *Instructo*=drawn up in order of fight. *Ferver* (boiling) is the sea-surface during action. Leucate (Leucas, Lucan, v. 479) now Cape Ducato, is the southern point of the Leucadia Island, north of Cephalonia, and opposite Actium, where the Augustus-Antony action took place. It still shows to passing steamers a long red stripe down the cliff, supposed to be

the blood of Sappho. The last couplet, very refractory to translation, contains a *jeu de mots; presa*=a prize, spoils; *preso*, a captive, one despoiled, i.e., Antony captivated by Cleopatra.

LV. 1.—A verse justly blamed: there is no poetry in

De modo, filha minha, que de geito, etc.
(In mode, O daughter mine, that with such geste).

Scholiasts complain (l. 6) that Jupiter, alluding to Magellan in 1498, is anachronistic: it is, however, a common classicism, the Past for the Future, *prophetic*.

LVII. 6.—The winds "obey" by enabling the God to fly.

LVIII. 4.—"Melius est nomen bonum quam divitiæ multæ" (Prov. xxii. 1).

LX. 2.—*A luz alhéa* (alien light) is translated in three ways. *Alheio* etymologically is = alienus; but it also means distant, uncertain, indistinct. Some, on account of the article, refer it to the Moon; others apply it to the dimness of the stars. But I have no doubt that Camoens alludes to the old belief of the stars being lighted by the sun (Calderon in "El Principe perfeito"; and Milton, Par. Lost, vii. 364). Dante (Par. v. 129) makes Mercury veiled by *gli altrui raggi* (other rays), that planet being nearest the sun. It is safest to translate "with the alien light," as in Hamlet:—

And thirty dozen moons with borrow'd light.

LXI. 2.—The Conduplicatio is the "Fugite, O miseri, fugite" of the Æneid (iii. 44 and 639).

LXII. 4.—Melinde in S. Lat. 3° 9′, nearer the equator than Mombasah.

LXVII. 3.—*Galerno* says Ferr. means any fair wind; here it is the N.-East monsoon trade.

LXX. 6.—Skies (or heavens) for climate. Fons. (l. 8)

would change *acharão* ("they shall find") into the sing. *acharâ*, as the Moors were addressing Da Gama, not the Portuguese.

LXXI. 8.—Æneid viii. 269.

LXXII.—Sol enters Taurus; here Easter Sunday, April 15, 1498. Flora pours forth the contents of Amalthea's Cornucopia as the flowers begin to bloom.

LXXIII.—There is a wonderful realism in this Stanza.

LXXV. 1–3.—The rhyme *nobreza* and *preza* is not appreciated.

LXXVI. 1.—The "sesquipedalia verba" *offerecimentos verdadeiros* are generally blamed.

LXXVII. 5.—*Escarlata* was a crimson-dyed broadcloth much used in the African trade. Coral (l. 6) is a herb or vimen after the mode of Ovid (Met. xv. 416), followed by Claudian and others.

LXXVIII. 5.—The old "Truchman" is the modern "Dragoman," from Targum, Tarjumah, etc. It alludes here to Fernam Martins, one of Da Gama's two linguists.

LXXIX.—The Interpreter's speech divides itself, as usual, into the classical Exordium (conciliating the King); Narratio (exposing the wants of the Fleet); and Conclusio (summing up what has been said).

LXXXI.—The Stanza is from the Æneid (i. 543).

LXXXIV. 8.—The Poet carefully varies the expression which is simply "for ever." Compare viii. 32; and x. 25 and 74.

XC. 1.—*Raio* = fulgor or fulmen. The passage, imitated from Virgil and Lucretius, suggests that the Melindans ignored gunpowder.

XCII.—Osorio (De Reb. Emmanuelis) says of the Shaykh of Melinde "In omni autem sermone Princeps ille non hominis barbari specimen dabat, sed ingenium et prudentiam eo loco dignam præ se ferebat." Voltaire

and others prove their ignorance by assuming the Zanzibarian Arabs to have been savages. Memnon (Herod. ii. 106), son of Aurora (the East), was mentioned by Homer, and the Greeks found him everywhere in the East. Diodorus (ii. 22) says that he was sent by Teutamus, 21st King of Assyria after Semiramis (the "Dove"), to aid his uncle Priam (brother of Tithonus) with troops, including 10,000 Æthiopians of Asia, and when slain by the Thessalians his body was recovered by his Æthiopians and burnt. His vocal statue is of Amunoph (Amenóthis) III. In fact at present Memnon appears an impossible personage.

XCIII. 3.—*Cabaia*, a tight-fitting robe reaching to the ancles. "Harsegaye" (l. 5) is the modern "Assegai," —with a difference.

XCV. 4.—A saying common in the Classics; Ovid's "materiam superabat opus" (Met. ii. 5). Line 8, *Aljofar*, seed-pearl often mentioned, is the Arab. El-Jauhar, *the* gem.

XCVI. 3.—Comp. iii. 125) *Hum ministro* is not a servant or slave, as some translators think; on state occasions a "Caboceer," or grandee would carry the umbrella, a sign of royalty. It appears in the ruins of Nineveh and extends to the furthest East. Malcolm (Hist. of Persia) derives "Satrap" from Chattra-pá (pati) or Lord of the state-umbrella; but the word is Khshatrapa from Khshatram, crown or empire, and -pá preserver; an "upholder of the Crown." In Persepolis this portable canopy marks the Prince; and Barbosa (87) describes it in "Narsinga"; Varthema makes the King of Calicut use it by way of a standard; and the Rev. Mr. Badger (p. 150) tells us that within his recollection no one was allowed to "pass before the Sultan's Palace on the Bosphorus without lowering his umbrella." In Burmah only the King can use a white one.

XCVII. 6.—*Roupa* is generally rendered "linen." F. y S. translates it *capa* (cloak) owning some confusion. Jur. (vi. 536) makes the whole sentence mean that Da Gama came dressed in Peninsular garb, but he wore a French *Rupão* or *Gibão* (doublet, jacket), made of Venice satin stained crimson. The word is the Arab. El-Jubbeh, which appears in jupe, jupon, etc.

CV. 4–8.—*Apascentar* in Constancio and Moraes is especially translated to lead forth, to guide; "Polo" being a Shepherd and the stars his sheep. I mistranslated the line, though very doubtful that this is its meaning:—

Long as its stars leads forth the vasty Pole.

Fanshaw makes the v. a. apascentar a reflective, and blots out the metaphor:—

In Heaven's blue meade while stars take their repast.

Quillinan has "starry flock shall keep." But evidently the idea is from Virgil (Ecl. v. 76). In the Æneid (i. 603) we find "Polus dum sidera pascet"; *i.e.*, physically and metaphorically. Zeno and Epicurus (Lucretius, v. 510) held that the stars, like the sun, were fed by vapours hanging about the Pole. I shall therefore prefer for the future:—

Long as the vasty Pole his stars shall feed.

Notes to Canto III.

I. 1.—This is Nunc age (Æneid vii. 37). Daphnè, Clytia, and Leucothoe are the laurel (bay), heliotrope and

frankincense-Nymphs. *Soe* (l. 8) is the Lat. "solet," the Port. *costuma.*

II. 4–8.—Lines much admired: the *Analyse* pronounces them "divine." Fons. (ll. 7, 8) has *receo* and *Orpheo;* he considers *receio* and *Orpheio* (preserved by Jur.) to be forced, a *verborum licentia uberior.*

IV. 3.—"Laus in proprio ore vilescit."

VI.—Here begins the History of Portugal, which occupies 137 Stanzas of this Canto, 105 of C. iv., and 100 of C. v.; a total of 342. Mac. justly remarks that Da Gama sitting in the boat with the "poor silent King," does not keep his promise (iv. 8) of being brief. He compares the sketch of Europe unfavourably with that in lib. ii. of "Sannazaro's most perfect poem De Partu Virginis," when the author obeys the decree of Cæsar "ut describeretur universus orbis."

VII. 2.—Old Geographers made the Tanais rise in N.-Eastern Russia from the Rhipæan Mountains or Western Urals,—"Riphæo tunditur Euro" (Georg. iii. 380). Ῥίπη (a blast) named the "Rhipæan bands" of Lucan (ii. 640), meaning the Scythians. Moderns derive the Don from the Ivan-Ozero (lake) in the Government of Tula (N. lat. 54°); it flows to the S.-East through the Cossack country; curves to the South-West, and ends in the Azof Sea (Lake Mæotis).

IX.—Herod. (iv. 5) makes the Scythians call themselves the youngest of all nations. Camoens follows Justin (ii. 1), "Scytharum gentem antiquissimam." These old Tartars, Mongols and Chinese, a quarter of the human race, about B.C. 630 sent out certain hordes which, led by their Prince Madyes (Idanthyrsus or Oghuz Khan) reached the frontiers of Egypt, and asserted a higher antiquity than the sons of Nilus-land (Ammian. Marcel. xxii. 15). Our Poet, as many have done since his day, refers the disputants to Genesis (Chap. x.); and holds

that Adam (the "Red Man") was created *de limo terræ*, supplied by the Aram Demesek, Ager Damacenus, or Plateau of Damascus. The latter is divided into the Ghútah (hollow), the river-valley containing the city; and the Merj (meadow) or open land to the East. Josephus makes the city-founder Uz the son of Aram; and the basin has ever been connected with legends of Abraham.

X. 3.—Insula for Peninsula; *Brusio* (l. 8) *i.e.*, Borussians, Prussians.

XI. 2.—The Ruthens are the Slav races of Eastern Galicia about Lemberg (Leopoli); as opposed to the *Moscos*, Russian Tartar-Slavs. The former are now taking a forward part in the Slav movement. The Silva Hercynia of Cæsar, 60 × 9 days' march, covered the range now called Harz and Erzgebirge (Ore Mounts).

XII. 5.—Hæmus (the Balkans) and Rhódope or Rhodópe (Despoto-dagh) have become familiar to England since Bulgaria, one and indivisible, has been split by politics into a kind of Siamese Twins, Northern and Southern. These walls will form the limits of the Kingdom or Principality of Byzantium, which will have for capital Constantinople; and the sooner its present ill-omened name returns to its older and nobler form the better.

XIII. 2.—The Axios or stream from the N.-West, feeding the Thermaic Gulf (Thessalonica or Saloniki) is the modern Vardhári or Bradi (Leake, iii. p. 258).

XV. 3.—"Apennine," the seam of the Italic boot, is derived from Alpes Pennini, the Alpine section crossed by Hannibal. The first lines are a translation of Petrarch's well-known "Il bel paese," etc. So Ariosto (O. F. xxxiii. 9—35) speaks of Apennine parting, and of Alp and Sea surrounding Italy. The "natural walls" repeats Polybius' *muros Italiæ*. Line 8 contains a fine epipho-

nema to the effect that Italy gentile was far superior to Italy pontifical.

XVII.—Hispania, the whole Peninsula, is the head of Europe, whose body extends to N.-East: Portugal (St. xx.) is the poll or crown, which Brazilians compare with another and a lower portion of the body corporal. In line 6, *Pôr-lhe nóda* (Lat. nota) means "to discredit it."

XVIII.—Fons. derives Gibraltar from "Ghibaltath"—mountain of the entrance: I need hardly say that it is Jebel el-Târik the Berbero-Arab Captain, applied to Calpe of "the Theban" (l. 4), Herakles or Hercules.

XIX.—Contains the nine kingdoms into which "Spain" has been divided. Parthenope, the Siren's town, Neapolis, is made unquiet, ever perturbed by Vesuvius.

XXII. 1.—Viriatus: a paronomasia on vir, vires, vis, virtus, &c. The involved construction is, "Light and agile Time (who devours his own sons) came by decree of Heaven to make this (my natal land) play such great part in the world." I have attempted to preserve these characteristic involutions; to the surprise of many reviewers who, of course, never read the original.

XXIII. 5.—That is, from Gibraltar to the Caucasus.

XXV. 3.—It is strange how little reviewers read. One charges me with "employing *sort* in the French sense." Let him look at Chaucer and Spenser.

XXVII. 5.—Godfrey de Bouillon, crowned first King of Jerusalem A.D. 1099.

XXIX. 2.—The figure Correctio: Jur. places the line in a parenthesis.

XXX. 5.—Corrêa has *Cousas* (things): Fons. and Jur. *Causas*; the latter appears the better, and the former would run:—

He weighs the matter in his own conceit.

XXXII.—Mac. would delete all this stanza. A second marriage, though then held bigamical, is no proof of extensive incontinence; and certainly should not be classed with parricide and infanticide.

XXXIV. 3.—Fons. preserves Corrêa's,—

Contra o tão raro e ingente Lusitano
(Against the Lusitan so great and rare).

Jur. prefers *raro em gente*, and I follow him. The allusion in the last quatrain is to the Battle of Valdevez (A.D. 1128).

XXXVIII. 3.—*Despidos* (dos vestidos de gala); unclothed, *i.e.*, not in courtly garb. Mickle kindly robes them "in gowns of white."

XXXIX. 1.—*Ves aqui*, for *eis* (behold!). The tales of Sinis or Scynis, the Corinthian Klepht, who dismembered his victims by trees, and of the Athenian Perillus, are from Ovid (Met. vii. and Art. Amor. i.) and Claudian (in Ruf. i.).

XLI.—*Algoz* (a hangman) is Port. not Span. The Dictionaries (Constancio, etc.), derive it from ἄλγος (grief, suffering) or ἀλοάω (to beat), and γόος wailing for pain. It is the Arab. El-ghazi, properly a fighter for the faith;[1] politely, a Gypsy, an executioner: hence the Ghâziyah, dancing-girl, in Egypt. So *Algema* (a fetter) is deduced from ἄλγημα (suffering): it is the Arab. El-Jema'.

XLI. 7.—Zopyrus is a corruption of Daduhyá = Datis = the given one; Behistún Inscrip. Col. iv. Par. 18, 8).

XLII. 6.—*Arraial* (Arab. El-Ráyah, a banner: Plur.

[1] It should follow name and title, as Osmán Páshá Ghâzi, not, as in English papers, Ghâzi Osmán. This is an Eastern "Don Garcia," or "Sir Smith": the latter form is preserved only on the Continent, whereas Walpole spoke of "Sir (William) Gordon."

Ráyát, banners or camp) means (1) a Head-quarter cantonment where the King is; (2) a military post generally. Hence, in S. America, so many townlets bear the title ("Highlands of the Brazil," i. 109). In line 8 Corrêa has :—

Postoque em força grande (for *em força, e gente*), *tão pequeno.*

Fons. and Jur. prefer the reading in parentheses: I do not, as the stanza should end with a characteristic antithesis.

XLIV. 4–8.—Alluding to the Amazons. The Thermodon (Herod. ix. 43), according to Leake (ii. 250), is the Platanaki flowing into the Euripus. In l. 5 the warlike dames follow their friends (*amigos*), not their husbands. Many Moorish and Christian Chiefs were accompanied by their mistresses, who fought with the greatest gallantry. Salazar was not so fortunate, as appears in the "Despised Stanzas." Mac. (i. 160) shows his utter ignorance by the side of Camoens' knowledge.

XLV. 2.—The Pole is here a familiar classic Synechdoche for the sky. Line 8 translates: "Non nobis Domine" (Ps. lxiii.).

XLVII. 7–8.—The form of "acclaiming" the ancient Kings of Portugal.

XLVII.—Molossus, in Epirus, bred the bravest, Crete the swiftest dogs (Lucan, iv. 440).

XLVIII. 5.—*Alarido* is the Moslem slogan "Allaho Akbar," technically called Tekbir. (Comp. my "Pilgrimage," etc., iii. 201, etc.) Fanshaw has, with a wonderful naïveté :—

> With this the *doggs* take up a Howle and rue-
> Full cry.

Mac. observes that Da Gama deserved a slap on the

face from the Moslem king. The obtuse mute *l*, with *u* and *r* (ll. 7, 8), is intended to suggest the trumpet-tone after Virgilian fashion.

LIX. 8.—The meaning of *o fato* is disputed. F. y S. distinctly says *Roupa* (cloth), and is followed by most versions. Fanshaw, "snatch up their hooks": Aubertin, "gather their goods." It evidently means flock, as the poet speaks (Eclogue iv.) of *gado, e pobre fato:* I have, therefore, followed Jur. vi. 537.

LI. 2.—All translate *Serra* (serried or saw-like ridge) by "mountain"; it is the Span. sierra misapplied by Childe Harold to Portugal. In the second Rollandian Edit. we find *Serra* explained from Bluteau's Dictionary as a "squadron ranged with many angles like saw-teeth." This again is *Prosa*, changing a beautiful diamond for a bit of lead; "and," says Biagioli, "stupid is he who accepts the change."

LIV.—The shield argent of Portugal bore only a cross, azure, till the days of the King's Father. D. Afonso Henriques charged it as described in the text; and D. Afonso III. (A.D. 1252) added the seven Castles of Algarves. Heraldic "charges" are the creatures or things blazoned on the coat opposed to the "ordinaries" or lines. "Plates" for argent is more correct than "bezants": I have preferred the latter, as more intelligible. Camoens has been blamed for mentioning the inescutchions instead of the *cinco chagas* (the Five Wounds of Redemption), which, with the thirty pieces of silver, the Saviour (says Azevedo) ordered to be placed on the shield. Herculano has attempted to prove that the legend dates from centuries after the Battle of Ourique, and that the importance of this action was exaggerated.

LV. 1–3.—The repetitions of *passar* and *tomar* are blamed as vain jingle by Ferr. and others.

LVIII. 1.—Albis is the Elbe. Line 8 alludes to the

second of the Crusades, in A.D. 1146–87. These mighty monuments of folly, ignorance, violence, and superstition have been described as the only measure in which all Europe ever united.

LX. 8.—Hispania Bætica, from the R. Bætis, the land of the Bæturi, the Bastuli, the Turditani, and other Kelts, was afterwards the kingdom of Grenada, measuring 70 × 30 leagues. The Vandals (Goths,[1] Suevi, and Scandinavians) are here called Scythians; they conquered the country and called it Vandalusía, now Andalusía. Seville, of old Hispalis, one of the noblest of Spanish cities, was taken from the Moors by Ferdinand of Castile and Leon in A.D. 1247.

LXII. 4.—*Poderes*=strong places.

LXIV. 2.—Trancoso had lately been burnt by the Moors.

LXV. 2.—"Piscosi mœnia Bari" (Hor. Sat., i. 5). Line 5 has mightily exercised commentators. The Morgado, quoting "flerunt Rhodopeiæ arces" (Georg. iv. 461) prefers *vio-o a serra della*—"saw it her mountain-range." F. & M.; Fons. and Jur. following M. Corrêa, read *vio-o o Senhor della*,—"Saw it her Lord,"—as the mountain has no eyes. But in poetry it has.

LXIX.—The Poet seems to quote St. Augustin: "Ne putetis gratis esse malos in hoc mundo, et nihil boni de illis agere Deum. Omnis malus aut ideò vivit ut corrigatur: aut ideò vivit, ut per illum bonus exerceatur."

LXXI–LXXIII.—These three stanzas re-echo the speech of "Magnus" in the Pharsalia (iii. 540–96), including the Phasis (or Rion), Syene, the Heniochi, the Sophenes, and the Judæi.

LXXI. 3.—The Nemesis is she of Herodotus. 4.—

[1] I hope, presently, to prove that Getæ and Goths, as well as the Gypsies, are derived from the widely-spread Asiatic family known as the Jats.

Fons. Jur., and most editors prefer *dina* (digne, worthy): F. & M. change it, and apparently with reason, to *indina*, because the victory was "indign." The antithesis of the last couplet is much applauded.

LXXII. 2.—The Heniochi of Colchis are the "gens aspera" of Lucan (Phars. iii. 269). Mr. Aubertin remarks (l. 4) that "Dedita sacris * * * incerti Judæa dei" becomes in Camoens Judæa worshipping and adoring one God. The soft Sophenes (l. 5) are the people of the Upper Euphrates, possibly from El-Saffayn. The terminal distich alludes to Tigris (Tigra=Tir=arrow), and Euphrates (Furát=abundance), "Rivers of Paradise": it also contains the popular misapplication of the Ark-Mountain to Ararat in Armenia.

LXXIII. 4.—Æmathia = Macedonia, between the Haliacmon and the Axius. Poets, however, apply it also to Thessaly, and Lucan (i. 1, etc.) confounds Pharsalia in Thessaly with Philippi in Thrace. Mitchell, who has any number of syllables at his command, translates:—

> That father-in-law should conquer thee, son-in-law him.

The *Sogro* (father-in-law) was D. Afonso: the *Genro* (son-in-law) was D. Ferdinando II., who had married his daughter, D. Urraca.

LXXIV. 1–4.—"Alboiaque," king of Seville, hearing of D. Afonso's captivity in Badajoz, attacked the Alemtejo and was beaten back. "Sacrum Promontorium" (l. 7), now Cape St. Vincent, named Sagres Town. The martyr suffered at Valencia of Arragon, by order of Dacian under Diocletian. Scourged, racked, and scorched, he died in ecstasies: the same phenomenon appears in the death of Damiens, who cried "Encore! encore!" when the executioners were tired of torturing him: yet his brown hair turned snow-white (Comp. Bacon, Instaur. Magna, lib. iv.

cap. 1). After a time St. Vincent's remains were borne in a barque to Sagres, accompanied by his familiar, the Raven. When they were translated by D. Afonso Henriquez to Lisbon, a "young damsel, who by paralysis had lost her speech and the use of her limbs, was carried to the Saint's altar. A sweet sleep came over her, from which she awoke with health and speech restored, affirming that the 'Flos Sanctorum' had appeared to her; and, taking her by the hand, had commanded her to rise and speak." The relator (Monarchia Lusitana, iii. p. 331) says, *Vidi ego ipse, et quæ præsens aderat multitudo maxima.* Mesmerists and spiritualists will readily believe him.

LXXV. 6.—"Seville's River" is the Guadalquivir, of old Bætis (lxxxiv. 4).

LXXVII.—This stanza shows the result of the Spanish Moors' application for aid to Marocco. Ampelusia (l. 2) from ἄμπελος a wine, is now Cape Spartel (also called Soloeis): it projects at the S.-West end of the Fretum Gaditanum (Straits of Gibraltar); and it separates Tangier (Tinge or Tingis) from Ceita, now Ceuta, the classical Abyla: the latter lies at the base of the lumpy conical mass, the Arab's Jebel Zalút, and our "Apes' Hill." Antæus (l. 4), who had vowed a temple of human heads, evidently anticipated the Persian "Kallehmunar" (Skull-minaret). The "Kingdom of noble Juba" (No. ii.) included all Mauritania, besides Numidia and part of Gætulia; thus it would denote N.-Western Africa.

LXXVIII. 2.—"Dark Continent" is "my thunder."

LXXX. 3.—The city is Coimbra, then a capital.

LXXXI. 5.—*Marlota*, says Bluteau, is a short Moriscan cape, which could be tightened or loosened. The author of *Vestigios da lingua Arabica em Portugal* makes it a scanty garment used in Persia and India: here it would be a jerkin of silk or wool, worn as armour or under armour.

LXXXIV.—A noble Virgilian prosopopœia (Georg. iv. 460–63); suggested by a flood in Dec. 1185, when D. Afonso died. "Those who cling to the shell of a word are blockheads," says Pasquier; and here a prosaic Scholiast twists the *altos promontorios* into the Portuguese grandees, and so forth. Apparently these "high headlands" are first named only because they would shed their drainage to the plains.

LXXXVII. 2.—For "Red Frederick" (II.) the "severe son of the Emperor" (Henry VI.), and the grandson of Barbarossa; the Hohenstaufen King of Naples so infamous in Dante (Inferno, x. 119, etc.) after his foul murder of Piero delle Vigne (Petrus de Vineâ), see Gibbon (D. and F., chap. lix.) and Napier (History of Florence, i. 197). The short allusion (ll. 7, 8) to the Battle of Tiberias called after the "Horns of Hattín" (Kurún Hattín), which ended (July 5, 1187), the Third Crusade, is quite correct as far as it goes. Guy de Lusignan attacked "Saladin" (Salah el-Din) who, after plundering Tiberias, encamped upon a strong position above it. The Christians, having passed a thirsty night, were defeated as decisively as D. Sebastiam: very few Knights were able to cut their way through the enemy, and to reach St. John of Acre. Three Bishops were killed in defending what was supposed to be the "True Cross"; and, when the Christians proposed to ransom it, Saladin conscientiously refused to return the "object of their debased superstition."[1] Hence it was carried to (Old) Cairo and perhaps used as firewood: there is a bare possibility of its being still in the lumber-stores of some half-ruined Mosque.

LXXXIX. 6.—*Tuí*, the Galician town, in prose would be Túi or Túy.

[1] No Moslem believes that Hazrat Isá (the Lord Jesus) died on the Cross.

XCII. 7.—Camoens makes "Heliogabálus" rhyme with Sardanapálus; and I have followed suit. The Sun-god of Emesa (Hums), Elagabalus, is derived from *El*, "god," and the Akkadian *Gebil*, "fire." The symbol was a black cone, probably an aerolite. Bassianus, better known as Heliogábalus, anticipated the strong-minded of the present age by establishing, under his mother for Presidentess, a feminine senate to debate matters which concerned the sex; and he put to death certain senators who objected to the useful institution.

XCIV. 5.—Camoens is here careless: Afonso III. was The Fat; and Afonzo IV. The Brave. The Epiphonema (ll. 7–8) is in his normal style.

XCVII. 8.—*Baccharo* is Portuguese'd from "Bacchare frontem cingite" (Virg., Ecl. vii. 27–8). Ariosto apparently translates it *Nardo* (xxxv. 24); which Milton (Par. Lost, v. 291) places among the wilderness of sweets that adorned The Garden:—

> And flowering odours, cassia, nard and balm.

Fanshaw renders "ivy-leaf": Mickle "Baccaris," and Quillinan "Baccharis" (Virgilian, not Camonian); which Mitchell tells us is the "(Our) Lady's glove, an herb to which the Druids and ancient poets ascribed magical action." The French also held "Baccar, ou le gant de Notre Dame," as a preventative against fascination.

C. 1.—Camoens pronounces Semirámis. Tartessus (l. 8), the Tarshish of Hebrew holy writ, has been made mysterious by later writers, who insist upon turning a city into a country. But Herod. (i. 163 and iv. 157) especially mentions the "City of Tartessus in Iberia," whose king, Arganthonius, lived 120 years; and he tells us that its virgin port was unfrequented by the merchants. Strabo (iii. 2, § 14) also notes that Tartessus

and Carteia are the same, and so we find in Mela and Pliny. I would certainly identify Tartessus with the later Carteia, in the Bay of Gibraltar (Canto viii. 29).

CI. 4.—The allusion is to the loss of Spain by D. Rodrigo the Goth. The threefold repetitions (ll. 6, 7, and 8) of *mandar* (to send) are quite in Camonian style. The Queen, Maria, who was badly used by her husband despite her beauty and worth, deserved the Poet's praises. Her speech (greatly admired) begins vehemently, *ex abrupto* (ciii.), with a hyperbole equalling Hamlet's horror:

> ——the sheeted dead
> Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets.

Here the Poet's treatment of the Affections perhaps equals the Ignez-Episode.

CV. 2.—Mulucha, in some Edits. Moluca is made Molucca by one Translator (For this Lixus River, see chap. iii. § 4).

CVII. 8.—The Battle of Tarifa or the Rio Salado (Oct. 29, A.D. 1340).

CIX. 1.—The two Afonsos are No. IV. of Portugal and No. IX. of Castile.

CX. 6.—*Saraceno* (Jur.) not the vulgar *Sarraceno*, is the correct Portuguese form. The word has many derivations, mostly false; and Mickle (Introd. xliv.) explains it by a "wandering banditti of Scythian (!) origin." The oldest deduction is from Sarah, because the race comes from Hagar (?); the Hagaranu or Hagarene tribe having been conquered by Sennacherib. Others take it from the Mountains of Sarraca in Arabia Petræa. My friend Prof. Aloys Sprenger proposes Ṣhuraká, partners or allies, because these Arabs of Idumæa served as light cavalry to the Romans. I have advocated "Sharki" an Eastern, opposed to

"Maghribi," a Western ("Pilgrimage, etc.," i. 275 and iii. 28); and have also noted that as Europe is derived from Ereb, so Asia may be from the Semitic Asiéh, the East, *i.e.*, of Phœnicia. The last distich contains the popular saying "falsa conta sem o hospede"; triumphum canere ante victoriam; counting unhatched chickens, etc.

CXV. 6.—The "strong arm" is the Portuguese king.

CXVI.—Alluding to Marius and the Cimbri. Of this Germanic tribe they say 120,000 were slain and 70,000 were taken prisoners, yet many must have escaped into the wild mountains about Recoaro in the Italian Tyrol. Here I found (1874) traditions of the people which had lingered since B.C. 101; the last speaker, however, had died. Their neighbours of the Sette and Tredici Communi still say in their "Platt Deutsch" *Ik pin ein Cimpro* (Schmeller, Ueber die sogennanten Cimbern auf dem Venedischen Alpen).

CXVII.—The vehement apostrophe to Titus is much admired. Cocyto (l. 2.) is again Continens for the Contained (Pluto).

CXVIII.—We now reach the Ignez-Episode, universally held to be the finest specimen of "affectionate eloquence" in the Portuguese tongue.[1] Even Ferr. owns that the Hispanian Muse never produced anything superior. The style, he says, is uniformly gentle and amene; Genius, Sentiment and Art everywhere appear; the similes are natural; the rhetorical figures are appropriate. The vehemence of expression and the "disordered order" of the narrative are adorned with admirable reflections, and are furnished with pathetic

[1] I have shown (chap. iv. § 1) that the tale is not historically told. Ignez was not dragged by the murderers before the King (ccxxiv.) and the lieges; her hands were not tied (cxxv.), nor could she plead her cause, D. Afonso having retired from the scene.

pauses and apostrophes. King Afonso returns triumphant from the wars; and, looking forward to "peace with honour," at once finds himself an actor in a dire domestic tragedy: this abruptness has an air of novelty that excites and suspends the reader's attention. Love is reproached as the real author of the crime. Then comes the narrative of the Action; simple, pathetic, beautiful. The indignant outburst at old Afonso's cruelty is the admirable preamble to the foul murder. The beautiful Ignez is led by her assassins on to the stage crowded by the lieges, and placed before her father-in-law. She pleads her cause with such power that she influences the "King benign,"—"God's Anointed" had slain too many Moors to be overharshly treated. "The savage populace insists; the ministers execute the order; the Poet bursts into a cry of rage and horror. He apostrophises the Sun and the Valleys which saw and heard the dreadful end: he compares the murdered Princess with a daisy pluckt from her favourite fields; and he ends with an admirable address to the Mondego Nymphs, and with a romantic metamorphosis. What a variety of objects! What frequent transitions! What sustained interest! And, to end the whole, our Poet, with that noble candour and sense of justice which characterise him, blames the too cruel vengeance and the savage pact into which the wretched husband entered with his namesake of Castile."

Mac. simply observes that this episode is "the most disjointed and incoherent passage in The Lusiads." To such lengths can go the hurt vanity of a poetaster. Truly it was said:—

L'amour-propre offensé ne pardonne jamais.

Musgrave, an ant taking the measure of an elephant, finds the appeal to the King "too artificial. Instead of

displaying the fervid and (sic) natural eloquence, inspired by intense anxiety for the preservation of life,[1] it exhibits a figurative and unimpassioned exposition of reasons for an extension of merciful compassion." Again *Prosa!* and poor prose also: the quotation is useful only in showing how far Dulness can go. On the other hand Millié[2] declares that "Adamastor" and "Ignez" have made the fortune of The Lusiads. Mr. Stanley (Correa, xliii.) observes that the beautiful victim is the Wallachian Dilruban of M. Bolentineanu and the Kani Tambuhan of Malay poetry.

CXVIII. 3–4.—This difficult couplet is well rendered by Kuhn and Winkler:—

> Um, wie der harte Krieg ihm Ruhm gespendet
> Gleich ruhmvoll auch des Frieden's Flor zu hegen.

CXX. 1.—Almost all Edits. have Ignez, not Inez nor Ines as Camoens wrote. It is the Spanish Iñez and must be pronounced Ee-nyez not Eenyéz. Again "Agnes of Portugal" is correct, not "Ig-nes of Portugal." In Latin D. Fr. Thomas de Faria writes:—

> Agnetem quæ post mortem regina vocata est.
> (St. cxviii.)

M. Lamarre (l. 6) would translate *enxiuto* (wiped, dried) by the Latin "exutus" (depouillé): no one will agree with him. The last couplet is explained by Commentators as writing the beloved name on tree-trunks and leaves. So in Ovid (Ænone to Paris, 21–26) the beech-trees are marked by the pruning-hook. Perhaps while the

[1] The *Poet* says her chief sorrow was to lose her husband and her children, not herself.

[2] He quotes a literal but unpoetical version of Florian which begins,—

> Vainqueur du Maure, au comble de la gloire, etc.

physical writing was figurative, the mountains echo'd the name.

CXXV. 4.—The Latin and Italian versions make *Ministros* = Ministri (so the Spanish. Kuhn and Winkler give "die wilden Knechte" (the savage executioner's-varlets). But like "Algozes" (cxxiv. 1) which I have purposely rendered "hangmen," it must allude to the three caitiff knights.

CXXVI. 7, 8.—The sentiment is that of the "Winter's Tale" (ii. 3):

> —— Wolves and bears, they say,
> Casting their savageness aside, have done
> Like offices of pity.

Since Colonel Sleeman (1858) gave his account of wolf-reared boys (never girls) in India, a number of instances have made the nursery-tale of Romulus and Remus almost credible.

CXXVII. 2.—*Donzella* does not always mean a maiden in Portuguese; but we can hardly translate it "Damsel"; except after the fashion of "Maid Marion." F. y S. explains it by the tale of a penitent who, after styling herself *Donzella*, confessed details that were incongruous. "How sayest thou that thou art a Damsel?" asked his Reverence. "Sir," she replied, "I am the damsel of my mistress." So in Germany "Matemosel" is the housekeeper.

CXXIX. 2, 4, 6.—The *rimas agudas* (acute rhymes), *verei,—achei,—criarei*, express the mother's agony and despair.

CXXX. 7, 8.—Chivalry, which, in its outer form at least, passed away with the fifteenth century, had untaught the opinion of certain early Christians, "quod mulieres non sint homines," *i.e.*, that women had no souls. In the seventh century they cleverly but falsely

saddled this opinion upon El-Islam, which notably held the reverse. Even in the fifth century the Council of Macon debated whether God died for women as well as men. Milton's "fair defect of nature" shows a survival of the old Christian sentiment.

CXXXI. 7.—*E bem parece* is ambiguous; meaning either "which may be true"; or, "for still 'tis true."

CXXXII. 8.—*Cuidosos* for *cuidadosos* by syncope, a figure in which Camoens delights, and which I have imitated.

CXXXIV.—This is the famous "Daisy-stanza," that cannot be translated so as to equal the beautiful simplicity of the original. I have tried a dozen ways, but none are satisfactory. In the Igne2-Episode printed for me by Messrs. Harrison by way of a specimen in 1879, it ran as follows: I changed it because lines 2 and 6 were not sufficiently literal.

> E'en as we see some Daisy blooming wild,
> whose beauty decks with candid pride the Plain,
> sudden by wanton hand of heedless child
> untimely pluckt and for a Chaplet tane;
> robbed of its perfume, of its hue beguiled;
> so lay that lovely Ladye foully slain,
> and dried the Roses of her cheek, and fled
> the white live colour, with her sweet Life dead.

The Daisy is the Flos of the Æneid (ix. 435); and the *Fior* of Bernardo Tasso. English poets justly find a peculiar charm in the ox-eyed daisy; "pearled Arcturi of the Earth"; connected with the eyes of Baldur the Beautiful, the Sun-god of Scandinavia. Chaucer (Prologue to the "Legend of Good Women") left the fond lines:—

> . . Of alle the floures in the mede,
> Thanne love I most thise floures white and rede,
> Suche as men callen daysyes in her toune:
> To hem I have so grete affeccioun, &c.

So Suckling in his immortal song :—

> Her cheeks as rare a white was on
> No Daisy makes comparison.

Burns addressed loving "Lines to a Mountain Daisy"; and the dull English herd gives the name to his favourite cow. Our neighbours christen it Marguerite (Arab. Murwárid), the pearl. Camoens makes the *bonina* synonymous with, or a representative of, flowers in general (ix. 62). Aubertin remarks (vol. i. 297), the Portuguese species is a pretty pink flower of which chaplets are made, and more remarkable than our "*Bellis Communis.*"

CXXXV.—This stanza is admired as it is admirable. The Fonte-dos-Amores is in the Quinta-das-Lagrimas; formerly a garden of the Coimbra Palace (and Convent): in which D. Ignez lived and died. Mitchell (p. 90) gives a sketch of the Cedars, some of which may date from the days of the murder. One of the oldest bears inscribed :—

Eu dei sombra a Ignez formosa

(To the lovely Agnes I my shade did lend).

We have a parallel case of the blood-dyed pebbles in Saint Winifred's Well. The daughter of Thewith (mid. seventh century), one of the Lords of Wales, she was educated by the monk who became Saint Bruno; and she retired to a hermitage, refusing the suit of Caradoc, son of Alan. This Prince took a rough and ready revanche by striking off the lady's head: as it fell to the ground the Holy Well, which was the blood, gushed out, and the stones are still red-veined.

CXXXVIII. 3.—Fernando is Port., Ferdinando Span.

CXXXIX. 3.—Leonor (Jur. and the general): Fons. has the older Léanor.

CXLI. 8.— Hannibal's amour is taken indirectly

from Plutarch and directly from Petrarch ("Trionfo d'Am.," iii.) :—

Vil femminella in Puglia il prende e lega.

Joam Nunes Freire denies the scandal in "Os Campos Elysios" (1 vol. 4to. Porto, 1626).

CXLII. and CXLIII.—The end of this Canto is, some say, inserted at the suggestion of certain Inquisitors. Yet it bears the Camonian stamp. The Poet thunders an anathema against Love. But he himself has been a lover,—no one more. This strikes him suddenly; he recants after a fashion, and his fellow-feeling makes him indulgent enough to excuse the weakness of D. Fernando.

Notes to Canto IV.

Stanza I. 1–4.—This passage is highly praised for the sonorous description of the tempest, and for the contrasts which follow it. Mac. remarks that Canto iii. ends with a sermon, and Canto iv. begins with an unfact: instead of Peace the Wars increased.

III. 7, 8.—The loyal and loquacious babe, eight months old, was the daughter of one Estev' Anes, of Evora. This ecclesiastical city is a good *Inscenesetzung:* here "Beatus Mancius," a disciple of the Saviour, first preached, and he was followed by the learned Bishop Quintianus. This stanza led to an outburst in praise of illegitimates, now relegated to the "Despised."

IV.—Mac. finds the octave one of the most scandalous in the whole Poem.

V. 3.—The line is amphibologic, referring either to the Bishop Martinho or to those slain with him. Fons. would emend line 7 :—

A quem ordens, nem aras dam (for *nem* Jur., &c.) *respeito.*

The Orders would be the Canons; and the altars refer to their Superior.

VI. 4.—Camoens writes Sylla for Sulla.

VIII. 1.—Bryx founded Ecclesiastical Burgos, famed for its Cathedral. The Townhouse preserves El Cofre del Cid, an iron-clamped trunk belonging to D. Ruy (Rodrigo) Diaz de Bivar (a place near Burgos), El-Cid[1] Campeador (Lord Champion). He was buried with D. Ximena his wife, in the monastery-choir of San Pedro de Cardena; I am told that the remains were translated to Burgos with great pomp on June 19, 1842.

IX. 5.—The "noble island" is Erythrea off Gadeira, Gades (Lucan, vii. 187), Cadiz. Gadeira is derived either from El-Kádir (the Puissant), or from El-Kadur in Punic, a hedge.

X. 4.—Conca (Span. Cuenca) from Concha, a shell, is originally Moorish, built like Ronda, Alhama, and Alarcon on a river-isolated rock where the Jucar (or Sucro) unites with the Huecar. The strong Castle, one of many defending the Hispanian plateau, was under the Wális (governors) of the Toledan Amírs; it was taken by Alfonso IX. (Sept. 21, 1177), and received from Ferdinand and Ysabel the title of "Muy nobre y muy leal." Spanish authors are displeased with "sordid and

[1] Sid, a congener of Sayyid, is in Arab. a lord, master, or prince; and Yá Sídí (my lord) is a popular address to equals. Hence the debased "Seedy" or "Seedy-bhái" (brother), applied in Western India to the Wasawahíli or Zanzibar negroes and negroids.

hard band" (line 6), applied to the Gallegos or Gallicians; and it may be remembered that the Poet's family was originally from this province.

XI.—Independence still characterises the Basques. Their claims to Fueros, primitive laws and privileges, was the lever by which D. Carlos, of late years, raised the Provinces of Guipuscoa, Biscaia, and Alava.

XII. 2.—Vulg. Hebreo, alii Hebrêu; Jur. Hebrëo, trisyllabic by diæresis.

XV. 2.—*Refusar* is classic and poetic Portuguese, not a Gallicism (refuser).

XVI. 4.—F. & M. read *Vencêrao* (they won): *Vencistes* (ye won), being in the Edit. Princ., is followed by Fons. and Jur.

XX. 5.—P. Corn. Scipio, the "first African," was then æt. 24, about the age of D. Nuno.

XXIV. 3.—There is an impossible paronomasia in Nuno and Hunno (Attila, the Hun). In line 8 *se diz* (they say, they call) is taxed with *pouca galanteria* (scant politeness), but the Poet must have had his reasons now forgotten.

XXVIII. 3.—Camoens pronounces Artábro; we Artabrum. Most authors identify it with the Promontorium Neurium seu Celticum, the Keltic Artabri or Arotrebæ, now Finisterre. Others transfer it to the Promontorium Lunarium or the P. Magnum of the Mons Lunæ (Pliny, ii. c. 112), or Serra-da-Cintra: the latter, now Cabo-da-Rocca, with its Farol d'Aguia near Cascaes, is the westernmost point of the Peninsula. The Battle of Aljubarrota is introduced with much pomp after the manner of Virgil (Æn. vii. 515) and Lucan (vii. 481).

XXIX.—The octave is difficult. F. and M. (l. 4) read *menor* (less) for the normal *maior* (greater), making one exclaim once more *Prosa!* I understand it to mean "In deadly danger apprehension (of danger before it

comes) is often greater than the danger itself; and, if not, still it seems so; for (in the actual fight) fury and the will to win make us disregard fear and possible loss of limb or life."

XXXII. 1.—Two of his brothers, D. Pedro Alvarez Pereira and D. Diogo Pereira (St. xl.), fought against D. Nuno and were slain. In the last line Pompey is entitled "Magnus," after the invariable custom of the Pharsalia. The honour was conferred upon him when he was saluted "Imperator," after the victory over Juba and Metellus Scipio; and it was continued to his eldest son Cneius (Lucan, ix. 121).

XXXV.—After this stanza several octaves (see the "Despised") were omitted.

XXXVII. 2.—The "Seven Brother Mountains," so called from the usual fancy, are in ancient Massylia, the modern Dahrah.

XXXIX. 2.—*Honroso fogo* (honourable fire) = courage.

XL. 3.—The master of Saint James (of Compostella) was D. Pedro Muniz or Moniz. Our poet does not mention that his ancestor, Vasco Pires, was amongst the captives. This stanza is followed by eight rejected octaves.

XLI. 7–8.—D. Joam, wearied with fighting, had thrown himself upon a rough bench awaiting a fresh horse. Then came up to him, with a dancing step, Antom Vasques de Almada, who, unrolling from about his middle the Royal Banner of Castile, presented it to his Liege. The latter laughed and gave the prize into safe keeping. Cerberus (l. 3) is the Trisiras, which the Hindus probably borrowed from the Greek Pagans, as they did Krishna from the Christians.

XLII. 1.—*Aqui* (here) means around the Banner. This octave is greatly lauded.

XLIV. 3–4.—*Sede* (thirst)—*do peito* (of the bosom).—

sitibundo (thirsty) is a compound condemned by critics: the object is emphasis.

XLVI. 5.—*Bandeira* means primarily a banner, secondarily those who fight under it. Mac. says of line 6 "serpit humi." The end of the stanza alludes to the Battle of Valverde.

XLVII. 8.—The "inclyt Princesses," daughters of John of Gaunt, were Philippa and her sister Catherine (Catalina). The latter was married to D. Enrique, afterwards III., son of D. Juan I. of Castile.

XLVIII.—Mac. pities the "silent, patient, long-suffering King," who must sit and hear his faith thus abused.

XLIX. 3.—*Abrindo as pandas azas* must not be translated "opening the expanded wings," an unjustifiable pleonasm: *pandas* here means curved, concave (compare St. i. 19).

LII.–LIII.—This is poetical licence: the unfortunate Infante never had a chance of being ransomed.

LIV. 2—So of good-omened names Rucellai (Degli Api, 647) says:—

Luigi in Francia e ne la Spagna Alfonso.

The meaning and augury of names, influencing character, was equally well known to Æschylus and Herodotus, to Mr. Shandy and Balzac. The first quatrain alludes to the Battle called after the Campos de Toro, on the right bank of the Duero. The stanza ends with the figure Correptio.

LVII. 3.—I inadvertently misexplained in a footnote "Ferdinand" by "Saint" Ferdinand. The "Saturday Review" (May 7th, 1881) took up the "odd historical mistake" in its normal style, genial and modest; and straightway confounded "The Catholic" title of Isabella with that of her husband, or, perhaps,

with the true "Ferdinand the Catholic" of Spain (1512–16). So Fanshaw, whose additions are not remarkable, is evidently mixed with Mickle, whose additions *are* remarkable.

The whole critique belongs to a class far too common in the Saturnine print; destructive criticism, based upon the principle of individual antipathy, looking only to its miserable "sting," and decorated with the Thersites vein of sneer and personality. Again, it discusses the writer, not the thing written, with the normal arrogance and ignorance. Aristarchus should have read Morgante Maggiore before complaining of Sarrasin and Sarracene, etc., etc. He should not have adopted from Bouterwek, or others, a note containing the half-truth so satisfactory to the "Halb-bildung." He might be expected to see that "pillage" and "plunder" are not synonyms; and that "Sans-Peur" is the best, if not the only translation, of *Sem Paror*. All scholars know that Camoens was abused by "The Saturdays" of the day for mixing professional and scientific terms with Greek, Latin, and French, and for using a host of neologisms; for "tautology," for "pedantry"; for "rugged and halting verse"; for "indifferent Portuguese"; and for "limping metre." And, had *this* Saturday Reviewer read the original, he would have understood that the stanza (ix. 17) which he damns with his praise, really wants correction: the sentiment should be especial, not general; should refer to the voyagers, not to the travelling race. It is truly regretable that with such pretensions we find, if not the outward and visible form, at any rate the inward and spiritual disgrace of the old "Satirist," under a new, but hardly an improved, aspect.

LX. 4.—Naples, founded by the Chalcidians, was in the hands of Ferdinand II., brother to Alfonso II., when

Louis XII. of France and Ferdinand of Spain combined to seize it (1499). They fell out; and, in 1500, the "Great Captain" Gonsalvo de Cordova expelled the French, and secured the whole possession for his master. At this time appeared the Morbus Gallicum of which Fracastorius sang.

LXI. 1.—Others read *Manda seis companhieros* (the King "sends six companions"); but the envoys were only four (Chap. iii. § 1). The general reading is *Manda seus mensageiros* (messengers, which Fons., as usual, writes *messageiros*).

LXII. 3.—The *Ribeiras altas* (tall shores) are the so-called Mount Kasios or Casium: (Strabo, xvi. 2–33), Tasso (xv. 15) also notes the "Casius Hill," where Jupiter Casius had a temple (the Baal-Zephon, or "Lord of the North," of Brugsch), and where Pompey had a tomb. Kasios, now the Arab El-Jilsah (the head-land), or Ras el-Kasrún, and the Turkish Ras Burun (nose or naze head), is a rounded dome, some 170 feet high, of bare sand based upon the sea-beach; and the drift has covered the remains of Zeus Kasios. Pelusium (from πηλός = mud), alias Sin, the "strength" of Egypt, was erroneously identified by Wilkinson with Tinah Castle; and Lake Serbonis with the Sabkhat Bardawíl (Baldwin's Salina). The remains, 25 to 30 miles East of Port Said, are now known as Tell el-Faddah (Silver-hill) and Tell el-Dahab (Gold-hill); the latter a great outlying defence.

The end of this stanza alludes to the Christian Church in Abyssinia, founded, according to Marco Polo, by the "glorious Apostle, St. Thomas": usually it is ascribed to St. Mark, the first Bishop of Alexandria. The fact of its being Nestorian won for "Abascia," whose race is inferior to the adjoining Moslems, the prepossessions and the sympathy of Europe: the history of the

last half-century proves how little the Abyssinians deserved the report of merits which deceived even critical Gibbon (vii. 341).

LXIII. 4.—Here we find the old derivation of Nabathæa, from Nabaioth (comp. chap. iv. § 2). Line 6 alludes to Myrrha, the beautiful Greek adaptation of the barbarous Hebrew Mor, the Arab. Murr (bitter). The tale of the Cyprian king, Cinyras and his daughter Myrrha, an "unkynde abomination," is often alluded to by Camoens. The gum (comp. x. 135) is the produce of Balsamodendron Myrrha. It is rather African than Arabian, the reverse being the case with the Balsamum Gileadense, the Balm of Meccah.

LXIV. 1–2.—Lamarre (p. 415) needlessly assures us, "Il n'y a aucun rapport entre la tour de Babel et le détroit de Bab-el-Mandeb. Simple rapprochement de mots." Camoens is here speaking, not of the Red Sea, but like Herodotus of the Persian Gulf, and its legends of Babylon.

LXVII. — I have translated literally this involved and difficult Stanza, with its parenthesis of unusual dimensions. The vision of D. Manoel, a noble episode, is introduced with the pomp of the Æneid (ii. 9); and here the Ganges and the Indus take the place of the Tiber (viii. 31). Commentators differ greatly as to the hour when the dream happened: almost all read (l. 6) *a luz clara* ("the clear light"), except the Rollandiana, which has *à* (to the) *luz clara*,—an accent which has caused plentiful debate. Some understand evening; others early dawn, and others the whole night. But Camoens follows the Classics, amongst whom, says Padre Cerda (on Æneids ii. and viii.), heroic visions take place at three periods. They are bad and ill-omened before the "noon of night," uncertain at that hour, and true before dawn, the time alluded to by our

Poet. The ancients held, like Byron, that life is two-fold, and that sleep has a world of its own.

LXIX. 2.—The *prima esphera* must be the lowest of the seven heavens. Here the Hebrews and the Moslems place the Garden of Eden; so that the "fall of Adam" was a fall indeed.

LXX. 1.—*Alimaria* is from "animal"; as *Alma* (a soul) is from "anima."

LXXII. 7.—I wish that we could write "Arkadía." Camoens describes the Ganges and the Indus after the fashion of his day; making them both arise from the Imaus (Himálaya) of Ptolemy: the former springing from the southern slope, and the latter from the northern counter-slope. But the Classical Geography is mixed with mediæval superstition. The Ganges' source is placed in the terrestrial Paradise, the Heaven of the Earth (comp. vii. 1); and, therefore, the Genius is the more weary, having run for a long way underground, like the Alpheus of Arcadia-Sicily (Æneid iii. 694). The Hindús derive Mother Gangá from Kailasha, the Paradise of Shiva, and make her issue from his top-knot. But, although greybeards may enter into poetry, apparently the seniors of the other sex are refused admission except in the form of witches.

LXXVIII. 1.—"Preces regum leges sunt." The King delivered to D. Gama a silken banner, embroidered with the "Arms of Christ"; and upon this the navigator took the oath of fidelity. The latter also received a *Commenda* (Order of Merit) and an outfit. He was charged with letters for "Prester John" and the King of Calicut (Barros, i. 4, 1). Mac. quotes against line 8, "Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma."

The Minyæ are from Lucan (vi. 385), an ancient Thessalian people, who held Iolchos, and of whom many took part in the Argo-cruise. In Sparta (Herod.

iv. 145) they called themselves the "Sons of the Heroes," as Castor and Pollux were of the crew.

XCV.—The "Old Man of Belem" is the people personified; and the episode and philippic containing the popular croaking is from Osorio. It is the "Speech of Old Age" (Pharsalia, ii. 68–233) and the *Illi robur*, etc., of Horace (O. i. 3); but it is Lucan made cosmopolitan, and Horace set in personality, in movement; therefore, grander and more striking.

Notes to Canto V.

Stanza I. 8.—*Troncos* (trunks), hulls, ships by synecdoche, not masts as supposed by Mac.

II.—A highly elaborate stanza, alluding to the "Historic Periods" of which the 6th and last began with the Christian æra. Musgrave remarks (p. 474) that as the Expedition sailed on July 8 (O.S.) the sun, even with due allowance for the reformed chronology, would not emerge from Cancer and enter Leo till some days later. Is he right? "Boa Viagem" is a common name for churches in Portugal and the Brazil.

III. 4.—*Alongavam* ("fixed the eyes upon a distant object") cannot be literally translated.

IV. 7–8.—Columbus discovered America (without knowing it) only on his third voyage in 1498: Cabral hit upon The Brazil in 1500; thus neither could be familiar to Da Gama, although Camoens makes him allude to the latter.

V. 5.—*A derradeira*, either the last discovered (1419)

or the last, *i.e.*, the westernmost known when it was discovered.

VII. 6.—Commentators make *Negro Sanagá* a hypallage; the "Senegal of the Blacks": Camoens knew better (comp. chap. iv. § 1); and "Blackwater" is a common river-name in all languages.

IX. 1.—Here, as Jorje Cardoso remarks, Camoens confuses the two Saints James. *O immenso lago* is classically applied, like Hesiod's "Limne," to the Guinea Gulf and to the Pacific (x. 1).

XI.—Alluding to Ovid's scandal about Neptune and Medusa (Met. i. 738, etc.).

XII. 3.—The double liquids in Se*rr*a aspe*rr*ima are supposed to mimic the roaring of the lion: the animal probably never existed at S'a Leone, as the emancipated negroes call their "pest-house," Sierra Leone (prop. *Serra Leoa*).

XIV. 6.—Aubertin (note on this stanza) is mistaken in supposing that here we have an allusion to "Magellan's Clouds," or to the black patches which our sailors call the "Coal-sack" and "Soot-bag." Camoens had remarked the barrenness of the Southern compared with the Northern hemisphere. This translator compares the Southern Cross with a badly-made kite: Amerigo Vespucci had likened it to an almond.

XV. 12.—Alluding to Juno's prayer that Callisto and Arcas might never be invisible to man (Georg. i. 246).

XVIII. 1.—This "living (*i.e.*, moving) light," La disiata luce de Santo Ermo; mentioned by Ariosto (xix. 50), by Clavijo (1403), by Ferd. Columbus and by Pigafetta in Magellan's Voyage (1509), is the Castor and Pollux of the Classics. The Neo-Latins called it Sanct' Elmo, San Telmo or Eremo, from Anselmus, or Erasmus, Bishop of Naples martyred under Diocletian; and from S. Pedro Gonçalves a Sicilian Bishop, Patron of the

Island: with the former he shared the duty of protecting Mediterranean sailors. The French and English term it Saint Nicholas, St. Anne's Light, Corpusant and Compasant, a corruption of the Spanish Cuerpo Santo, "Saint Electricity." The waterspout or Syphon is the "black cloud" of Homer (Il. iv. 275–7); and the Prester of Lucretius (vi. 424), the "burner"; so called because a fiery gust alighting upon the sea caused it to boil up. It is also the Columna of Pliny and the Pythonas aquarum of Lucan (vii. 156). Portuguese sailors term it *Manga*, the sleeve.

XXI.—In this Leech-stanza *Sanguesuga* (hirudo) *beiços* (lips) *alimaria* (horned beast), *furtar* (to be filled) and *chupando* (sucking) are objected to as ignoble words. They have, however, propriety, proportion, and truth.

XXII. 4.—Mac. complains that *jacente* (lying flat) is not Portuguese: Camoens made it so.

XXIII.—The stanza reminds us of Cowper and his Task, "Some drill and bore," etc. Line 8 is an emphatic repetition.

XXVII. 2.—The Semi-capran fish is Capricornus, represented in some zodiacs as goat-headed and fish-tailed. Lamarre (p. 434), finding this a *bizarre amphibie*, perverts it to Amalthea.

XXVIII. 4–8.—I have somewhat brutally preserved the two *brutos* which are shirked by polite translators. But Camoens wrote after the fashion of an age, which was not Philanthropic, Humanitarian nor Negrophile.

XXX–XXXV.—The jocose and veracious adventure of Velloso is introduced, after the manner of the Iliad (ii. 212) and the Æneid (v. 181), as a relief from the terrors of Nature and the apparition of the Giant. In xxx. 7, Jur. holds to the old Fernão: Fons. has Fernan', an apocope for Fernando, like gran' (grande) and San' or Sanct' (Sancto). The last distich has a peculiarly

Camonian rhyme: our Poet often adds an —*m* to such words as *assi* and *mi*.

XXXVII.—Here begins the noble episode of Adamastor who, as we learn from Rabelais (ii. 1), was son of Porphyrio and sire of Antæus. He is compared with the Colossus of Rhodes, a statue of the Sun there worshipped, and 105 ft. high (Flaxman, sect. ix.). Castéra ineptly makes the Giant a personification of El-Islam: Mickle, not far behind him, places the monster's words in the mouth of the Melindan King, as a legend current in the country. In ll. 5, 6, Mac. finds an "Irish bull," that the crew should be *descuidados* (careless shown) and yet *vigiando* (keeping watch): other commentators take the trouble to justify the Poet of their unwisdom.

XXXIX. 2, 4, 6.—The rhymes *valida*, *esqualida*, and *pallida* are *esdruxulos* (slidings), dactylics with an extra syllable, appropriate in describing the immane. I have attempted to express the sound in English; whereat Reviewers marvel.

XLIII. 5.—Alluding to the Armada of Pedr' Alvarez Cabral, in which B. Dias was lost.

XLVI. 1.—*Outro* (*caso*) *virá* ("another chance shall happen"): the shipwreck of D. Manoel de Souza de Sepulveda, who had amassed great wealth during his government at Diu. The event, which happened about the time of our Poet leaving Europe, provoked two Latin, and sundry Portuguese, poems, especially the Naufragio de Sepulveda by Jeronymo Corte-Real, a contemporary of our Poet. Alvaro Fernandes, one of the eight who escaped death, published a prose account (Lisbon, 1554). Lamberto Gil considered the event a just retribution for the hapless governor's injustice and extortion.

In 1552 Sepulveda with his wife, D. Leonor de Sá, whose beauty was famous, three children and a suite,

was wrecked on the South African shores, and some 400 of the crew reached the shore. The cruelty of the Caffres, fatigue, hunger, and privations killed all the family, the husband dying in a fit of frenzy. Of the 400 only 26, slaves included, were saved. They were led by Pantaliam de Sá, Trïstam Vaz and F. Salgado, the latter related to Diogo de Mesquita. This Captain of Mozambique ransomed them from the interior and carried them in his canoe down the Rio Inhambane to his Head Quarters (May 25, 1553). They were well received, and found with passage home: it is suggested (Jur i. 494) that some of them may have gone to India in the same ship with Camoens. These Caffres have long owed a debt of blood to Europe.

LIII. 4.—Doris was the mother of Thetis (wife of Peleus and mother of Achilles), who is nowhere mentioned in The Lusiads but here. The naïve Scholiast remarks that the Giant made the parent a *rufiana* (go-between) for the daughter. Thetis must not be confounded with Tethys the wife of Neptune and goddess of the Sea. Millié observes that Tethys has been mixed up with Amphitrite, her sister-wife, Neptune being the only bigamist among the classic gods. The Frenchman also characteristically notes (vi. 22) that the *Menage à trois* was peaceful and happy.

LV. 8.—"To kiss the eyes," declares the Scholiast, is a recognised poetical practice; "but to kiss the hair is an act so brutal that it denotes the Savage."

LVI. 7.—Lope de Vega reaching the end of this line paused to consider how the stanza could worthily end; found himself puzzled, and marvelled at the manner in which Camoens had put on the colophon. But did not the Poet remember Ariadne in Ovid (Epist. x. 49–50)?

> Aut mare prospiciens in saxo frigida sedi:
> Quamque lapis sedes, tam lapis ipsa fui?

LXXII.—Neither Camoens nor the Roteiro mention the mutiny off the Cape; but it is circumstantially related by Correa and Osorio. The Armada was now tossed to the clouds (*ut modo nubes contingeret*), then sunk into the abyss, while cold and darkness added to the horrors of the storm. At every lull the crew gathered round Da Gama, praying him to return; but he gallantly refused,—"valde Gamæ virtus nituit." They conspired against his life; his brother discovered the plot; the pilots were put in irons, and the Captains, "invicto animo," took the helm. At last the weather changed and The Cape was doubled.

LXXII. 4.—*Pego* (the deep) is Pelagos, Pelagus by syncope; meaning, as among the classics, either blue water or the Thalweg of a river. *Para o pego* is a nautical or, rather, a Log-book phrase.

LXXV. 7.—*Gente que navegavam ao nosso modo*, says Barros.

LXXVIII. 8.—Tobias (Arab. Tábi'ah, the dependant, the slave) is the worthy of the Book of Tobit, whose companion has curiously survived in "Dog Toby"; Punch being Pontius (Pilate), and Judy, Judas.

LXXX. 4.—Rhamnusia, Nemesis, from Rhamnus, a Demus of Attica.

LXXXII.—This is the first poetical description of Scurvy. Lamarre introduces Machaon and Podaleirios; as if Camoens were not classical enough as he is.

LXXXIII.—This pathetic stanza may be compared with the Odyssey (ix. 62); with Horace (Ode i. 23); and with the Æneid (v. 871):—

Nudus in ignotâ, Palinure, jacebis arenâ.

LXXXIX. 8.—*Grandiloqua escriptura* (grandiloquent writ) sounds in prose like an "Irish bull."

XCI. 6.—Lampetia, Phaëthusa, and Lampetusa

(Canto i. 46) are the three sisters who were turned into poplars, a favourite legend with Camoens.

XCIV. 3.—*Dões*, now written *Dons*, is the older plural form of *Dom* (donum, a gift): the plur. of Dom (the title) is Dóos (Dons, Domini). Glaphyra, says F. y S., is Cleopatra; others refer it to the beautiful daughter of Archelaus, the Cappadocian High-priest.

XCVI.—Camoens follows Horace, "Vixere fortes," &c. (Ode iv. 8), and reflections on Romulus and Æacus (Ode iv. 7). His complaints concerning the rudeness of his fellow-countrymen are those of Juvenal; "Quis tibi," Mæcenas? (vii. 94).

XCIX.—There is a tradition that, when some one quoted The Lusiads as honouring the name of Da Gama, a silly descendant grandee exclaimed, "We have the titles and don't want the praise."

Notes to Canto VI.

Stanza IV. 8.—The friendship between Portugal and Melinde lasted some time. Cabral made over to Shaykh "Fonteyma," uncle of the chief, the gold-laden barques captured at Mozambique; and the Europeans often defended their protégés against Mombásah and Kilwá.

VI.—Bacchus raging against the triumph which must take place, is Neptune in the Odyssey (v. 288) and Juno in the Æneid (viii. 313). In line 3 I have translated *Thalamo* "chambers": it may also be "Sol's nuptial couches": the Lat. "Thalamus" bears both

meanings; and the Portuguese *Thalamo* is a couch or a quarter of the heavens when the latter is "domified."

VIII.—This admirable Palace of Neptune is the Temple built by Dædalus on the Cumæan shore (Æn. vi.). Chaos, a monosyllable by synæresis, and the Four Elements are from Ovid (Met. i. 6, 21, 38).

XIV. 8.—The meeting of the Wine-god and the Water-god is a concetto upon which La Harpe (La Lusiade, ii. 48) is too severe. "Il y a dans l'originale une pointe basse et triviale, bien indigne de la majesté de l'Epopée"; and he assaults Castéra, who excuses all things in his Author. Musgrave (p. 492) adds that the Poet has been betrayed into this poor conceit by the epigrammatic spirit which is often attempted to be infused (!) into the last line of the octave stanza.

XVI.—XVII.—The hypotyposis of Triton (Æn. i. 148; Ovid. Met. i. 331; and Pausanias, lib. ix.) is not without a certain Shakespearean quaintness and grotesqueness; especially as to the *gorra* (bonnet).

XVIII. 1.—Mac. bitterly abuses this coarse line. F. y S. remarks (line 6) that mollusks increase and decrease in size with the moon (Phœbe, not Phœbus); and quotes one of the street-cries of Rome:—

> Ecco li granci cotti in buona vena;
> Son buoni adesso que la Luna e piena.

In line 7 Man. Corrêa reads *birbigões* (vulg. *breguigões*): F. and M. prefer *Misilhões* (muscles), which are often mossy.

XXIII. 1.—The fable of Athamas is also a favourite with Camoens. This King of Thebes proceeded to sacrifice Phryxus his son by the first wife Nephele, who substituted at the altar the ram with the well-known Golden Fleece. In a fit of fury he dashed against the wall Learchus, one of his children by Ino. The mother

fled with Melicertes, the other son; and the Nymph Panope carried him under water to Italy. Here an oracle informed Melicertes that he would be worshipped as a sea-god Palæmon; and his mother Ino be adored as Leucothæa, the white goddess. There is some confusion with Melcarth ("King of the City," or "of the Earth"), the Tyrian Hercules. Glaucus also is an enigmatic personage, probably several thrown into one. The most noted was a fisherman of Anthedon near Gaza, invoked in storms with the formula "Exo Glauke!"

XXV. 8.—Lamarre (p. 463) naïvely confounds, like many other writers, ambergris with amber.

XXXVIII.—XLIII.—These stanzas have been translated by Lord Strangford (comp. chap. ii. § 3).

XXXVIII. 6.—*Do Eoo hemispherio*, &c. Ἀοῖος (aster) is the morning, opp. to Hesperos the evening, Star. The Lat. Eous has two sigs., (1) the Dawn-planet and (2) the Dawn itself. Here "Eöan" simply means "Eastern," made familiar to the public through "Eothen."

XXXIX. 6.—Vulg. *esfregando* ("rubbing," frictioning: the Morgado (Firmin-Didot, Paris) prefers the Castilian form *estregando*, from "extergo."

XL. 5. Camoens told Corrêa that Leonardo, the lover or amourist of the Poem, was one Leonardo Ribeiro. In the Asia Portugueza he is called Francisco de Faria e Figueiredo.

XLIV. 5.—So Ariosto (xxxv. 21) had scant respect for the courtiers "who imitate the ass and swine." For the Tale of the Twelve of England, who should be called the "Twelve of Portugal" see chap. iii. § 2. Mitchell (p. 297) defends the Episode against "Unitarian" bigots; and Castéra prefers it to Tasso's Olindo and Sephronia, which he says est "tout à fait pastiche." Millié (Canto vi. note 15) informs us, "L'espèce de culte

rendu aux dames par les héros de la chevalerie n'a brillé de tout son éclat que sous le beau ciel d'Espagne, de France, et d'Italie." If this be true, things have indeed changed for the worse.

LIII. 3.—Most of the Portuguese knights were from Beira; some from Entre Douro e Minho.

LV. 1–2; alluding to Death, "Mors ultima linea rerum est" (Hor., end of Epist. xvi.) Whitsunday was the trysting-time (line 3).

LVI. 8.—Some erroneously read *Imperio* (Empire) for *Emporio*.

LVII. 8—Fons., Jur., and others, deride the vulgar lectio *animados* (encouraged) and prefer *amimados* (caressed).

LX.—Fanshaw and Millié (p. 470) translate *Sorte* by "lot." The French version says, "Les combatants sont divisés par rangs de trois ou de quatre, selon que le sort l'a décidé." Mickle, too, refers the passage to the Knights, but with a doubt. F. y S. more properly applies the distribution to the courtly spectators praising the Poet's circumstantial description:—"*Y ven-se como alí describe los palanques* (palisadoes); *los tablados* (boardings, platforms); *y el orden de los assientos* (seats). Aubertin holds the same opinion; because (1) the number eleven would not admit such division; because (2) in all editions the first quatrain, referring to the Court, is divided by a full stop from the second, which relates to the knights; and, because (3) in the next stanza, when the combatants first take their places, the spectators are surprised. The Bactrus (l. 5) or River of Bactria, Balkh, Bokhara, the Battro of Ariosto (O. F., xxxviii. 57), is not the Oxus, but some smaller stream that sinks.

LXIV. 5.—*Dece*, archaic for *desce* (descends); and so in St. xxxii. 2, *deci* for desci. F. y S. explains *en vez de*

baxar del cavallo, vá bolando uno:—"one, instead of (merely) dismounting, flies from his horse" (comp. ii. 66, 8). This truly Camonian line cannot mean:—

One from his charger flies, which onward bears.

The translator was misled by the equivocal *que*, which expresses our "that," pronoun and conjunction. Three such *que* are badly mixed in viii. 61, 1–2.

LXVIII. 4.—This Countess was D. Isabella, daughter of D. Joam the Bastard, married to Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy and Earl of Flanders, who had raised Bruges to high rank. Charles VII. of France, who "paid his English," when assembling the States, cited him to appear as a vassal: his wife refused; and the dispute was settled by the Judicium Dei, in which Magriço slew the French knight. Musgrave (p. 498) remarks that the Infanta was married in 1429, and that the Tournament took place in 1390, or 39 years before. Mitchell (p. 298) observes, "A poet is not always obliged to follow the truth of history." Camoens (ll. 7–8) compares the Frenchman's fate with that of the terrible Gaul whose torque (collar) surnamed Manlius "Torquatus": and with the gigantic champion of the Senones, whose defeat, in which the crow took an unfair part, entitled Valerius "Corvinus."

LXIX. 1–4.—This knight was Alvaro Vaz d'Almada (chap. iii. § 3). The conditions of his duello with the German Knight at Bâle were that both should fight with the right flank uncovered. Alvaro, enraged at the trick of his adversary, who was left-handed, threw down his weapon, closed with him and crushed him to death.

LXXI. 1.—*Os traquetes* or *traquetes davante*, the Ital. "Trinchetto," not the main-sail, but the mizen-sail, the "voile de misaine" (Bluteau).

LXXV. 1–4.—The first line,

Mas já a amorosa estrella scintillava,

is pronounced perfect. The verb is Latin, giving vivacity to the verse: the syllables—*tillava* suggest the sparkle of the star; and the rhyme with *visitava* (l. 3) has a "golden simplicity." *Mensageira do dia* (Messenger of the Day) is a kind of parenthesis; and, *leda fronte* (glad brow) ends a sketch full of charms. Orion (l. 6) is not only *ensifer* (from his dagger), but also *nimbosus* and *aquosus:* elsewhere he is "turbulent," because he causes trouble to sailors (St. x. 88). Hence he flies from Venus.

LXXVII.—A beautiful stanza. The "Halcyonian birds" (king-fishers) are said to be most active in the "Halcyon days" (Shak. K. Lear, ii. 2) of early November, the Summer of St. Martin, or last week of fine weather, which has quaint names all over the North-temperate world. In the Vosges it is believed that Noah sent with the dove a *martin pêcheur:* the latter was carried aloft by a mighty wind till his robe took the blue of the sky and the sun burned the lower part red. The bird then dived under water so long that the "Ark" disappeared, and ever since he has been seeking it with cries of sorrow.

LXXIX. 7 8.—This bold image is borrowed from Lucan (ix. 470).

LXXXII. 4.—Lucan, ii. 626. The Ceraunian hills are the rocky sea-range of Epirus; Acroceraunia being properly the point. I have passed it a dozen times, but rarely without a heavy swell.

LXXXVIII.—Orithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, a woman of Attica (Herod. vii. 189), was married to Boreas, whom Lucan (vi. 380) calls "Dalmatian Boreas," and "cold Boreas" (v. 590); and Homer (Il. xv. 171)

"air-cleaving Boreas." This fierce wind is the modern Bora (Βόρρα), or N.-N.-Easter, the tyrant of the upper Adriatic, the Sinus Ionicus of Herodotus, which Lucan (ii. 400) calls the Lower as opposed to the Upper or Etruscan Sea.

XCII.—The Poet here shows an admirable art, combining in the contrast of perfect picture the horrors of the night-storm and its imminent deadly risks; the rising of the Star of Love and the stilling of the sea; Dawn walking splendid over the Ghâts or Sayhádri Mountains, and the first glorious sight of India,—

Hindostan, bágh o bostán
(Hindostan, garden of man).

XCV.—The reflections which end this Canto are even nobler than usual: Mac. admits the fact, quoting, however, Horace, *Sed nunc non erat his locus.* Tasso happily imitated a portion, placing almost the same words in the mouth of the Old Man of Ascalon (xvii. 61–64),—

Signor, non sotto l'ombra in piaggia molle
Tra fonti e fior, tra ninfe a tra sirene;
Ma in cima all'erta e faticose colle
Della Virtù riposto è il nostro bene

(Not under shades, Signor! on soft sweet slope
'Mid Nymphs and Sirens, 'mid the founts and flowers:
But high on Virtue's rough and rugged cope
The Fane of Valour, man's true blessing, towers).

I prefixed a version of these five terminal Stanzas to The Highlands of the Brazil in 1869. Musgrave (p. 504) finds "the taste of the poet, perhaps, a little questionable, by indulging too much in this strain of moral reasoning"; as it is rather didactic than epic. "Camoens should have avoided this systematic close of most of his Cantos; and these reflections, however apposite, should have been

more condensed and less dispersed in his poem." . . . "Although they may be indubitably correct, yet they are oppressively crowded into such close connexion as to exhibit an ungraceful air of scholastic diction." And thus, I add, Prose bewrays the finest Poetry.

XCV.—Compare Sallust (Jug., cap. 85) and Juvenal (vii. 68–70; 74–77). "My nobility," said Iphicrates to a descendant of Harmodius, "begins with me: thine ends with thee." Impertinent, if true!

XCIX.—Lamarre quotes Massillon (part iii., "Sermon pour le premier Dimanche de Carême") concerning the difference between love of honour and false ambition.

Notes to Canto VII.

Stanza I. 4.—*Ora sus* ("up now!" which I have rendered by a well-known formula) = "acima, tende animo," courage! Poetical in Portuguese, it is used by Ronsard,—

> Or sus, mon frère en Christ, tu dis que je suis prêtre:
> J'atteste l'Éternel que je le voudrois être.

The "Indic currents" (Indus of the Heptapotamia= Panjab) and the Ganges are made to frontier India, which Barros (i. 4, 7) calls the great Mesopotamia. Mac. blames the Stanza for its fourfold "já."

II. 3.—The "Mother" is the Catholic Church.

IV. 1.—Camoens wrote during the very crisis of the "Reformation" (Council of Trente till 1563 and Eve of St. Bartholomew in 1572), when Europe was a battle-field of Catholics and Lutherans, now exaggerated to

Ultramontanes and Agnostics. "The Constitution of Germany," says Puffendorf, "verified the Hydra-fable with this difference, that the heads of the State bite and devour one another." Besides, the Fatherland had just produced that great dragon, Martin Luther, its third great appearance in history.

V.—Ariosto (xxvi. 35) is liberal enough to give the "hard Englander," Henry VIII., his due: Camoens considers his contemporary only as one who, "after inventing a religion of his own, made himself the head." But bluff Harry did not claim to be King of Jerusalem (ll. 1–2). The title was offered by the army to Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror; but declined, as the Duke expected the English throne. It was then bestowed upon Regnier, Count of Anjou, whose daughter Margaret was married to Henry VI.; and he assumed as armorial augmentation, argent; a cross potent between four crosslets or. The last distich alludes especially to the deaths of Fisher and More, Cromwell, Anne Ascue, and others who refused to acknowledge the Protector and Defender of the Faith. But, as is the unkind fashion in such matters, no notice is taken of Ridley, Latimer, Cranmer, and the "altera pars."

VI. 1.—The "false King" is the noble Saláh el-Din (Saladin). The "unworthy Gaul" (l. 5) is the gallant and unfortunate François I.r, who allied himself with Henry VIII., the German Lutherans, and Sultan Sulaymán (The Magnificent) to take the Duchy of Milan from Charles-Quint. The French and Turkish fleets united to bombard Nice; and the "Moors" of Toulon were allowed to build mosques. This liberality, so much in advance of its age, is blamed by Lamarre (p. 284) even in our day, when Paris has a "Masjid" and London talks of building one.

The first quatrain is placed by the "Sebastianistas" in their Canon of Prophecy, and forced to predict the French Revolution and its outcome, Napoleon Buonaparte. The "Vates sacer" of the Sect was one Gonçalo Eannes Bandarra, of Trancoso, Cobbler, Poet and Prophet. His ballads, which did so much to favour the Cause, were in the style of Ursula Southiel, popularly known as Mother (Mrs.) Shipton.[1]

Põe dois ós um sobre outro
E põe lhe outro a dircita;
Põe outro como o primeiro
Ahi tens a conta feita.

("Place two 'oughts' one topping t'other (8 = 8)
Place another on its right; (80)
Place another like the first, (8)
Thus the perfect sum you write").

This would be A.D. 808 or 1808. But D. Sebastiam still remains the "Hidden Prince." For the four impostors, (1) the King of Penamacôr"; (2) the "King of Ericeira"; (3) Gabriel de Espinosa the pastrycook, and (4) Marco Tulio the Calabrese "claimant," see M. D'Antas' "Les faux Don Sébastien:" also chap. iii. § 4.

VII. 3.—The Cinyps or Cinyphus, a "Wady" (winterbrook), not a "Milyánah" (ever flowing stream), rises in Bildulgerid (Bilád el-Jeríd, the Land of Palm-fronds), traverses Tripolí; and, mouthing in the Mediterranean between the Syrtes, greater and lesser, forms the western boundary of the former under the names of the Kinipo, Makras, or Wady el-Kaham. Herod. (iv. 198) places it in the Euesperides or Hesperides country, now the Lebida plateau and still famous for fertility. Ovid (Pont. ii. 7, 25) and Lucan (ix. 87 and 312) make the Cinyps

[1] Her doggrel, very different from that usually accepted, was printed in 1448, and reprinted in 1641.

rise from the Hill of the Graces in the Gharian Range. The "just war" (l. 8) is supposed to be the conquest of the Milanese; but Saint Louis (No. IX.) also fought against the Paynim in Egypt and Tunis, where he died of the plague.

VIII.—Italy is here abused, after the fashion of Dante (Purg. vi. 76, etc.), of Petrarch (Canzon. xvi.), of Ariosto (xviii. 76) and of Tasso (v. 19). But these were Italians who loved the parent they blamed, and who spoke, as Henri Heine did of Germany, the "wild ravings of broken-hearted passion."

IX. 5.—Compare Mario Molza :—

Che il sepolcro di Christo è in man de' cani.

XI. 3.—Ariosto (xvii. 33) :—

Pattólo e Ermo onde se trae l'or fino :

The stream-gold of Pactolus, says Strabo, was exhausted in the days of Augustus.

XII.—Camoens speaks of Artillery as a "fierce new invention." But in this case, as in all discoveries which have affected all mankind, we know neither the age, nor the person, nor the details connected with the origin of gunpowder and with its application to ballistics. All we do know is that the popular accounts show immense ignorance. Old German writers attributed the discovery to the Cordelier Berthold Schwarz (Constantin Anklotz or Ancklitzen) and the picturesque accident of his mortar. This "Black Bartle (der schwarze Barthel), Lord Bacon's "chemical monk" (Inst. Magn. v. 2), has now a statue on the spot where the Convent of Friburg, in the Breisgau, once stood. But we can trace the explosive far backwards. According to Demmin (p. 59, Bell, 1877),[1]

[1] The work is unfortunately full of inaccuracies, *e.g.*, "firearms used by Hagiacus and the Arabs in 690 at the Siege of Mecca"

Dr. Keller found bullets for stuffing with some incendiary composition in the Palafites or Crannogs of Switzerland. The age of gunpowder in China is absolutely unknown; and the same author tells us (p. 60) that embrasures for cannon were constructed in the Great Wall. The Hindu[1] Agni-astar (fire weapon), Agni-bán (fire arrow), and Shat-agni ("hundred-killer"), the Roman Falarica and the Byzantine Greek Fire may all have been explosives. Caligula, according to D. Cassius and J. Antiochenus, had machines that threw stones amid thunder and lightning, and "the learned Vossius" (Lib. Obs.), judging from the account of Julius Africanus (A.D. 215), suspects gunpowder. Callinicus of Heliopolis (Ba'albak) declares that the Arabs at the siege of Constantinople (A.D. 668) threw iron and stones from tubes charged

(p. 60). The translator, too, might have spared us (p. 59) "*Shet à gene* (centueur)."

[1] Of late years a determined attempt has been made to prove that gunpowder and firearms were invented in India, "the land of fireworks"; and that the former was called by the Sanskritists Agnikurna (fire-powder). The theory appears in the well-known "History of Inventions," etc., of J. Beckmann (1739–1811); and in 1798 M. Langlès read his pleadings before the Institute. Col. Tod, who was credulous as a Hindu, referred (Rajasthan) to notices of the "Nalgola" (tube-ball) in the poet Chand. Prof. Gustav Oppert ("On the Weapons, etc., of the Ancient Hindus") understands Flavius Philostratus (Life of Apollonius of Tyana) to recount that Alexander the Great would not attack the Oxydracæ tribe, between the Hyphasis and Ganges, because they were "holy men who overthrew their enemies with tempests and thunderbolts shot from their walls," *i.e.*, artillery proper. Prof. Oppert bases his belief in the invention being Indian upon two works; unhappily he builds upon the frailest foundation. His arguments in favour of his authorities' antiquity (pp. 43, 62, 67 and 72) are of the weakest, especially where we look for strength. He shows no reason why the allusions to, and the descriptions of, gunpowder and firearms should not be held modern interpolations into those absurd compositions, the Nitiprakáshika and the Shukraniti.

with combustibles. The allusions in the Libro Ignium, etc. of Marcus Græcus or Gracchus (A.D. 846, printed at Paris in 1806); and in the Opus Majus and De Secretis Operibus of the learned Franciscan, Roger Bacon (A.D. 1214–1292), appear in every Encyclopædia. To the former we owe the first receipt for *raquette*, a powder of sulphur (1 part), charcoal (2 p.) and sal petrosum (6 parts).

The invention of cannon in Europe popularly dates from the end of the fourteenth century. The word is Κάννα, a reed, a tube (rohr); not the Germ. Kanne (a can). So the Hindus called it Nalika from Nala, a reed, possibly alluding to bamboo pieces. The earliest form was a common mortar with a touch-hole for firing, and it was at once followed by the breechloader, a wrought-iron tube closed with a wedge of wood or metal.

Cannon (top) and musketry (tufang) are specified by the historian Ferishtah during the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni (A.H. 399 = A.D. 1008); although Col. Briggs, his translator, determined to detect achronology, alters the word to "naphtha-balls and arrows," and Elphinstone (i. 541) prefers "flights of arrows." The discovery was carried by the Arabs to the farthest west, and was first adopted in Europe by Spain. The R. Armoury, Madrid, contains a "Lombarda" (long gun) and a "Cervitana" (short piece) said to have been used by D. Alfonso the Valiant (No. VI.) at the siege of Madrid in 1084. Viardot has noted that the African Arabs made cannon in A.D. 1200, and besieged Seville with great guns in A.D. 1247. In A.D. 1227 Edward III. brought from Flanders stone-throwing pieces which proved useful against the Scots. At this time gunpowder was known even to the Mongols (A.D. 1275) who, according to Deguignes (Hist. des Huns, iii. 162) when warring with the Chinese, used bamboo-tubes. In A.D. 1301 Amberg built a large

cannon. The French adopted artillery for dismantling fortresses (A.D. 1338); and abused the English for using it against men at Crécy (A.D. 1346): the weapon was probably of bottle-shape. I have noted that great guns were present at the Battle of the Salado (A.D. 1340). Their application to naval purposes dates (probably) from the "invasion of Chioggia" (1379–80).

Portable firearms (Knallbüschen, canon à main à épaule) were known to the Flemings about A.D. 1350. The records of Bologna call them "sclopo," whence schioppo, escopette, etc. These small hand-cannon, with rude wooden stocks, were followed by the Mönchsbüchse (Dresden Museum) with a rasp; by the wheel-lock and marcasite, or pyrites, dated Nürnberg, 1517; by the Serpentine or dog-headed matchlock; by the Dragon, the Hand-culverin, the Pétrinal (Pedernal, Poitrinal, Petronel) and by the Harquebus, Hagbut, etc. The latter word is Hackenbüchse, from the hook or metal dog worked by the trigger; the barrel was 3 feet 3 inches long, and the ball $3\frac{1}{2}$ ounces: a favourite in the fifteenth century it produced the Muschettus, mouchet or musket (the sparrowhawk). Some derive "musket" from Mokketta, of Velletri, who first made the weapon in the fifteenth century.

In the East portable firearms are noticed about A.D. 1432, by De la Brocquière (Bohn, p. 301), who speaks of "small harquebuses which they (the Meccan caravan) fired off now and then." According to Castanheda, (quoted in Elliot's History of India, vi. 467, and Kerr's Collection, ii. 364), when Vasco da Gama entered Calicut, "one of the Nayr carried a culverin, which he fired off at intervals": Camoens ignores this interesting detail. Varthema (1505–6) speaks of Indian cannon, mortars, and spingards; the Egyptians, about 1515, introduced them among the Arabs of El-Yemen, who, before, had

only bows and slings. In 1538, when Diu was attacked by the Turks, these "Rumé" had field-artillery, and, possibly, "musket-bows" (matchlocks). Barbosa found there good artillery and many "bombards" (p. 60): he notices in Malabar guns and musqueteers (112, 115), and in Java major guns, long muskets, and many other fireworks, the natives being "very good artillery-men." According to Crawfurd, Malacca learned firearms from the Arabs before the Portuguese appeared in the archipelago (1511); he explains "Maryam," the Malay word for firearms, by the Arab name of the Virgin Mary, which leads to strange deductions (Varthema, 339–40). It is evidently from the root "ramy" (shooting), as in "ramá-ná"—he shot at us. Some twenty years before the Siege of Gibraltar red-hot balls, thrown by Mir Mohanná, of Bandar Reg, near Bushire (1762–66), set fire to one of the H. E. I. Company's cruisers, according to Lieut. Low, I.N. Chilled shot is an American (U.S.) application of our days.

The invention of fire-arms which, during the last 500 years, has done so much, and which will do even more, to mitigate the destructiveness of battle, was received, especially by the poets and the philanthropes, with a chorus of execration. "Non erat satis" (says Petrarch, Dialogues), "de cœlo Tonantis ira nisi homuncio de terra etiam tonuisset":—what would he have said of Benjamin Franklin's kite and results? Ariosto makes Orlando take the first invented cannon from the King of Friza, and cast into the sea with heroic contumely. Yet his Knights held it no disgrace to use hippogryphs against horses, and enchanted versus ordinary armour. The French Knights called it the "grave of honour." At last Milton rehabilitated gunpowder by making it useful to the Immortals in his sublimely grotesque Epic.

Camoens often mentions the bombard (and bombardier), meaning any big gun. The "fire-stuffed bomb" proper is supposed to have been invented about A.D. 1495; the word is an onomatopoesis from the neo-Greek Βόμβος. He retains the leaden ball (i. 89), although iron began to be used in A.D. 1400. He specifies the "Espera" or "Esphera" (x. 32), a short piece throwing a large ball point-blank. His "Lyon" (x. 69) bore for mouth a leonine head, after the fashion of the Culverin. (*couleuvrine*, adder-muzzle). The Basilisco (x. 32, or "little King," Βασιλισκός) was so called from the Uræus (in Egyptian Ouro, Rex), or royal serpent, whose white spot on the head suggested a diadem;[1] this piece was 20 feet long, and carried a ball of 47 to 100 lb. (Grassi, Mil. Dict.). Monster guns were then being everywhere cast, especially in India, both by natives and by renegade Europeans. Among the 600 lost by Adil Shah, King of Ahmednagar, was the famous brass cannon sent to Bijapur: it weighed 40 tons; its length was 15 feet, and calibre 2 feet. The other forms used in Camoens' day were the "Falcon," a 3 pdr., 7 feet long, and the "Falconet," a $1\frac{1}{2}$ pdr.; the Sacre (from the Saker-hawk), a 4–7 pdr., 8 to 10 feet long; the Culverin of various calibres, large and small; and the demi-Culverin: the latter measured 12–14 feet, had a bore of $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and threw a ball of 33 lb., 160 paces point-blank, with a possible range of 2,000. The Poet also repeatedly mentions the Spingard (a wall-piece or 1 pdr. matchlock). This is usually set down as an anachronism, the Ruttiers and histories men-

[1] This serpent, which appears in the Snake-stories of Lucan (ix. 700-838), is evidently the modern Náshir, the Cobra di Capello, still common in the Desert around Cairo. It is the true "Cleopatra's Asp," which has been supposed to be the contemptible little Cerastes.

tioning only the Besta (cross-bow)[1] during Da Gama's Voyage of Exploration; but Barros distinctly notices their Espingardas (i. 4, 4). In the second voyage, according to Correa (p. 309), even the Moors of Malabar had small guns. It has been too hastily decided that Camoens was in error. I have, however, translated *Trabuco* (ix. 6, etc.) as a catapult or stone-throwing machine:[2] it may be the Spanish *trabujo*, which the Portuguese call *Bacamarte* (a blunderbuss).

XIII.—The allusion to Thrace, still under the "unspeakable Turk," is doubly interesting in 1881, when it threatens to cause a war. The first quatrain refers to the Janissaries or Osmanli infantry, opposed to the Spahis (Sipáhi, a sepoy, an "army-man"), composing the cavalry. The former was established about 1350 by Sultan Orkhan, who named them his "Yangyí-cheri"—young or new troop. According to Varthema and Sandys, they were the "sons of Christians (and those the most completely furnished by nature) taken in their childhood from their miserable parents by a levy made every five years." They were Circassians, Greeks, and other tributaries officered by Turks, the Scribes being called Muftis. A *corps d'élite*, they soon grew to be Prætorians and Strelitzes, and they were abolished by Sultan Mahmud (June 1826) under the normal and expeditious Asiatic process,—a massacre.

XIV.—The Poet's various translators agree with him

[1] The Cross-bow found its way from the Mediterranean sea-board into the heart of Africa, and even to the western coast of the Dark Continent. M. du Chaillu and I both noted it among the Fans or Mpangwe cannibals.

[2] Meyrick (vol. ii. pl. xxv.) figures the Trépied, trabuchet or trabochetta (a trap-door), and Demmin (p. 457) shows it to be a stone-thrower. So Chaucer (R. of the Rose, 3282) speaks—

Of trepeget or mangonel.

in his strictures upon all peoples save themselves. But they unite in asking what he means by his exaggerated praise of Portugal, especially for her disinterestedness and her obedience to Mother Church (SS. ii. and iii.)? F. y S. cannot but exclaim, *cousa singular, sin duda, en la gente Portuguesa!* Singular, indeed, that men cannot perceive how well the strictures which they level at other nations apply to their own. But the invective is glorious poetry, and that is the one thing needful.

XIX. 2.—This line is onomatopoetic :—

Sae (or *Sahe*) *da large terra ũa* (*uma, hũa* or *huma*) *longa ponta*
(Puts forth the spacious land a long thin point).

The want of "alignment" shows the extension. The fable of living on odours (l. 8) is from Pliny (N. Hist. vii. 2).

XXXII. 1.—Mac. blames Camoens for calling the vast Malabar region a *Provincia*, and proves the superior knowledge of his Poet. The twelve "Subahs" (provinces) of the Moghul Empire were, in some cases, larger than Malayalam.

XXXV. 7–8.—Calicut was not then built: this is one of the Poet's rare mistakes.

XL. 5.—Of *Não matam cousa viva* ("no living thing they kill") Mac. says, they cannot, of course, kill dead things. Prose!

XLI. 1–4.—The sentiment, which must have sounded pleasant to the Inquisition, is that of Herod. (iv. 104). His Agathyrsi Scythians had wives in common; and, as members of one family, they ignored sexual jealousy, and its resultant hate of one another.

XLIV. 2.—The dactyl Cātūāl (Plur. Catuales or Catuais, viii. 56) is properly a dissyllable; "Kot-wál," in Hindostani a "Fort-man," or officer in charge of a Kot strong place. The secondary and modern meaning is a

a native chief of Police. The Roteiro (p. 54) translates it Alquaide or Alcayde (= Arab. El-Kaid : a governor, a leader).[1] The Ruttier also has Bále (= Wálí in Arab., a ruler); and Correa (p. 175) following Barros, adds to the "Catual, or overseer of the Treasury" a Gozil, = Vizier, Wazír. These Moslem names suggest that the officers were Moplahs. The "portable bed" (l. 5) is the native "Palki," the Port. Palanquim. Mac. finds l. 6 inexcusably cacophonous.

XLVIII.—Mac. (ii. 91) asserts that the monstrous idols of Hinduism bear no physical resemblance to the classic gods. Camoens knew better. The original gods travelled from Egypt by two main roads, eastward to India, westward to Greece.

L.–LI.—The Rajah's Palace with its sculptured gates is that of Latinus (Æn. vii.).

LIV. 2. — Old heraldic writers derived armorial bearings from figured banners; especially in the time of Alexander the Great. They probably began with the tattoo, and were continued by the use of animals as "Totems" among the Greeks. Mr. E. T. Rogers, the Orientalist, is preparing at Cairo for the R.A.S. a detailed account of Eastern heraldry, and has made, he tells me, some curious discoveries.

LVIII.—This Octave contains five lines ending *-ente*: evident carelessness.

LXIX.—As Mr. Stanley remarks (Correa, p. 200) Camoens shows more knowledge of El-Islam than most Anglo-Indians of the present day. *Bafo* (line 3) is a translation of Ruh' Ullah (Breath of Allah); Isá bin Maryam having been conceived by the breath of the Archangel Gabriel: therefore not subject to death, and

[1] In Marocco the Alcaydes were governors tributary to the Miramolin (Amír el-Muminin) or Emperor; now, the word means a colonel in what they call the "Army."

crucified only in effigy, the heresy of certain Christians. "Rúh" is Hebr. Ruach, the Gr. *Πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή*, the Latin spiritus and animus, the "breath" or sign of life. Hence the long array of metaphysical visions, soul, spirit, phantom, ghost, &c.

LXXI. 8. — Marcellus (Marcus Claudius) is not happily chosen: this "Sword of Rome" was killed in an ambuscade, fighting against Hannibal.

LXXIII. 6.—Mac. blames *a Naira geração*, because he says the Nayr are nobles of Calicut, whose work is confined to soldiering. Camoens again knew better.

LXXV. 4.—Mac., once more showing himself *asinus ad lyram*, teaches Camoens that the *Canarins* (natives of Malabar) belong to the sect of Pythagoras, not to that of Epicurus the *gargantão* (glutton). He is wrong, and if he were right the critique would not apply.

LXXVII.—The introduction of the "white old man," Lusus, transports the reader back to Portugal. Da Gama addressing the King of Melinde (iii. 7–21), sketches the Western Continent; describes his own country and tells her history *ab initio* to the days of D. Manoel. The Poet now takes advantage of the fancied banners, and draws the portraits of illustrious Portuguese. He has been charged with tautology in reintroducing his favourites; Viriatus and Sertorius (Cantos i. and iii.), with Lusus, Ulysses, Count Henrique, D. Afonso Henriquez, and Egas Moniz. But the show is varied with high art; and the new strokes of the masterly pencil justify, as Musgrave says, the second pictures.

LXXVIII.—Here begin the complaints, and the personal grievances (opening of Canto x. and especially St. 9), which may form pathetic poetry, but which undoubtedly detract from the Poet's manliness. Much of the matter is taken from Juvenal's viith Satire.

LXXIX. 4.—A misprint of "driven" for "riven." Line 8 alludes to Ovid's Canace, who

> Dextra tenet calamum, strictum tenet altera ferrum
> (Her. Epist. xi. 31).

Notes to Canto VIII.

Stanza I.—Here begins the historic part, which is so lengthened that Fer. declares The Lusiads should be called "Episodic History of Portugal written in verse." Mac., complaining that the banners of three small craft contain far too much, prefers Virgil's device of statues and pictures; Ovid's portals of the Sun-palace, and Tasso's gates leading to Armida's Paradise.

XV. 1.—*The* Consul is Spurius Posthumius Albinus (B.C. 321), who with his colleague Titus Veturius Calvinus (Livy, ix. 1–10) was defeated at the Caudine Forks. He was sent back by his countrymen to the Samnite captors, and when these refused to receive him he struck the Fetial who conducted him and declared himself a Samnite.

XVIII. 5.—Henri was a knight of Bonneville, Cologne: his tomb is still in the Monastery of St. Vincent, but it lacks the miraculous Palm.

XIX. 4.—Prior of the Canons Regular (Augustine Friars) of Coimbra. "In periculo omnis homo miles." When the Moors seized Leiria (iii. 55) he raised a corps of partisans, captured strong Arronches; and savagely wasted the Alemtejo. Some make him a Frenchman: Fanshaw has "'Tis Prior Teuton." This pugnacious

and truculent ecclesiastic gradually rose to be Canon, Bishop, and Saint; and the tomb of S. Theotonio is still shown in the Chapter Chapel, Coimbra.

XX. 5.—Son of Egas Moniz: there were, however, two of that name, *O de Riba-Douro* and *O de Gandarim.* There is no difficulty in the passage except what the Commentators make. The excellent French translation of MM. Ortaire, Fournier, and Descoules correctly has "Mem Moniz reproduit telle valeur, qui dort dans la tombe avec les os de son père."

XXI. 6.—*Feito nunca feito* (indeed, a ne'er done deed) is pronounced Gongoric. Yet the direct Cowper can say :—

> What sight with seeing could I see?

XXII. 1.—The Castilian is D. Pedro Fernandez de Castro who, offended by D. Alfonso IX. of Castile, joined the Moors and seized Abrantes. The next stanza tells his fate, a poor matter to occupy two precious octaves.

XXIV. 1, 2.—The four Moor "Kings" were of Cordova, Seville, Badajoz, and Jaen. The fighting bishop of Lisbon (l. 7) according to Fons. was D. Sueiro Veigas, not D. Matheus. At his prayer during the siege of Alcacer, whose capture was told in iii. 62, a venerable old man, clad in white with a red cross on his breast, appeared in the air, and dispelled the fears of the Portuguese (Castéra). Camoens crowns him with palms as more appropriate to a clerk than laurel or bays.

XXVII. 6.—The three Knights-errant (*cavalleiros andantes*), who deserve mention as little as any successful prize-fighters, were Gonçalo Ribeiro, Fernando Martim de Sanctarem, and Vasco Anes: the latter was foster-brother of D. Maria of Castile, daughter of D. Afonso IV. of Portugal.

XXIX. 8 (see Canto iii. 8).—Tartessus, the "Tartesia littora" of Ovid, was, I have said, Melkarthos, Melkartheia, Karteia (Carteia), or Heraklea at the bottom of Gibraltar Bay. D. Macario Fariñas of Ronda surveyed the ruins about 260 years ago, when the mole was still standing, with the quay, the theatre, and other "illustrious remains of superb edifices." Francis Carter (1777) found that much of the stone-work had been quarried to build the neighbouring villages. The late Mr. John Terry of "Gib.," whose MSS. were obligingly lent to me by M. Dautez, a well-read Belgian artist long settled at the "key of the Mediterranean," described water-walls 700 feet long: of these not a trace remains. The sea-approach is by the small but angry bar of the Guadarranque River. Up stream appears a kind of dock, and the banks show a vanishing vista of *buttes* or cairn-like buttresses. The town probably lay on both sides of the rivulet; the dwelling-houses to the East like the modern village; and the public buildings, moles, and piers, so much spoken of by the ancients, to the West, or on the right bank. The old bridge denotes the older ford. The large farm-house, Cortejo del Roccadillo, above the left bank occupies, they say, the site of a temple, and it still shows a stucco'd bath. On the hill-side higher up are the remnants of an amphitheatre whose diameter is 236 feet. No attempts have been made to excavate about this *urbs vetusta et memorabilis*, which dated its birth 270 years before Carthage. During my visit in 1872 I was told that the land belongs to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

XXXI.—When attacking the Castilians near Valverde the "devout Captain" (Nuno the Constable) was missing, and his friends found him praying in a field. To their supplications he only replied *aun no es tiempo*

("'tis not yet time"). Ending his devotions he attacked the enemy with a fury which soon put them to flight. Had he lived in these days he would have been one of our "good Centurions" (Captains R.N., and in the Line), whose biographies are periodically published. One can hardly wonder that he died in a convent, weary of the world. Mac. cavils at line 21, and asks, How can a picture show a man saying "'Tis not yet time"?

XXXII. 8.—Vasco Porcallo, a Portuguese Governor of Villa Viçosa, being in the interests of Castile, was expelled by Pero Rodriguez de Landroal and Alvarez Cuytado, Commanders of Alcantara and Calatrava. He persuaded D. Joam I. to reinstate him; yielded the city to Spain; plundered Cuytado's house, and sent him and his wife under an escort as prisoners to Olivença. Landroal rescued his friend and abated the nuisance.

XXXIV. 1.—Paio Rodriguez Marinho, Chief Alcayde of Campo Maior, took part with Spain against D. Joam I., and treacherously seized and imprisoned Gil Fernandes, the King's Envoy. The latter eventually slew him.

XXXV.—The tale of the Seventeen is told in various ways. According to F. y S., when the Castilians were besieging Almada opposite Lisbon, seventeen of the thirsty garrison descended the hill for water, and held their own against 400 horsemen. De la Clède makes it a nobler affair. Eighteen Portuguese were surrounded near Villalobo by a host of Spaniards under D. Juan I. of Castile. The only hope was to get aid from the "Master of Avis" (D. Joam I.), but no one would move lest he be accused of running away. At last Diego Peres d'Avellar asked his comrades which were braver, to stand firm or to pierce the foe. When all answered the latter, he charged single-handed, and the astonished Castilians allowed him to pass. The remaining seventeen, after repulsing many attacks, were finally rescued;

and, says the chronicler, their action makes credible the marvels related of the twelve Paladins of France.

XXXVII. 1.—This is the unfortunate D. Pedro, killed by order of D. Afonso V. (chap. iii. § 1). He introduced the guitar into Spain and proved himself a "new Ulysses," although the book called *Auto do Infante Dom Pedro*, containing his exploits and peregrinations, is evidently half-fabulous. The other Infante is Prince Henry the Navigator (Canto v. 4).

XXXVIII. 1.—Pedro de Menezes, first Governor of Ceuta: his son ("the other Count," l. 3) was D. Duarte, who saved D. Afonso V.

XXXIX.–XLII.—According to his detractors Camoens seems to forget himself and to speak in his own name, as if mastered by his own grievances, when Paul da Gama was impressing a high idea of his country upon the "Catual."

XLV.—The whole of this soothsaying business is classical, not Hindu: the pagans would have prospected the stars, not inspected entrails. Barros (i. 4, 9) preserves a legend that certain augurs showed to the Samiry Raiah, in a vase full of water, the squadron lost, and other ships sailing from afar towards India. This form of the "magic mirror" becomes the "empty diaphanous globe" of Canto x. 7. José Basilio da Gama ("O Uruguay," Canto iii.) introduces a bowl in which the hapless Lindoya sees her vision. Cyathomantia, one of the oldest modes of divination (Genesis xliv. 5), still survives degraded to the tea-cup.

XLVII.—Compare Oneiros the Dream-god (Iliad ii. 23), and Alecto who took the form of Calybe (Æn. vii. 419). Tasso has imitated it (ix. 8) and J. B. de Gama introduces (Canto iii.) a night vision of his Red-skin hero.

XLIX. 5.—*Por ti, rudo, velo* (I wake for thee, thou sot)

in the Crasbeeck edit. of 1631 becomes *Por ti tudo velo* (I am all awake).

L. 4–8.—This quatrain has a true Eastern touch. Sa'adi, the so-called "Persian moralist," says, "You may stop a spring with your foot, but when it becomes a river an elephant shall not cross it." Lopez de Vega probably imitated Camoens in his Orpheus and Eurydice :—

Como mirar puede ser
El Sol al amanecer,
Y quando se enciende, No !
(As easy 'tis to gaze
On Phœbus' morning rays,
But on his noon-blaze, No !).

LI. 8. — *Agareno* ("Hagarene") is explained by Maundevile (chap. xii.). "There are Saracens who are called Ishmaelites; and some are called Agarenes of Agar; and others are called Saracens, of Sarah." To these he adds Moabites and Ammonites, whose origin was a scandalous Hebrew fable, forged to disgrace their powerful kinsmen.

LVIII.—Mac. derides the *dares e tomares* ("giving and taking"), as he calls the quarrels between the Portuguese and the Hindú Custom-house officers. Line 8 is somewhat too concise to be readily intelligible :—

Não era d'espantar se s'espantasse, etc.
(No startling matter (to us), if he were startled).

LXI. 1, 2.—The couplet shows the double meaning of *que* :—

En sou bem informado, que (that) *a embaixada*
Que (which) *de teu Rei me deste, que* (that) *he fingido*
Porque (because) etc.

LXII. 5.—The Portuguese, expecting to find none but savages beyond The Cape, carried by way of gifts only

preserves and confectionery, glass-beads, bells, coral, and similar articles. Even on the East African Coast they found Arabs equal to themselves in refinement and civilised appliances. The Shaykh of Melinde must have marvelled at the contrast of cannon and presents; but he had the sense to conceal his feelings. As the Roteiro tells us, the people of the Samiry Rajah loudly derided the "four red cloaks; six hats and feathers (!); four strings of coral beads; twelve Turkey-carpets (coals to Newcastle); seven drinking cups of brass (used by every Hindu peasant); a chest of sugar (owls to Athens); two barrels of oil and as many of honey." It is a grand mistake to think with some whites that "Anything is good enough for a black,"—especially in the missionary-line.

LXIII. 4.—"Omne solum forti patria,"—a noble cosmopolitan sentiment, so distasteful to a Chatham of the Georgean age.

LXV.–LXXVI.—F. y S. is lost in admiration at this speech, which is severely criticised by others. Mac. calls the first stanza a "galimatias" on account of its many Latinisms; but he makes the capital error of believing (ii. 158) that Da Gama addresses a Moslem instead of a Hindú. Critics note that the apostrophe begins with obscure paraphrases; that it "argues the point" rhetorically, but not persuasively; and that it displays a pedantic knowledge of the stars. Its object is to tell the Samiry that he is deceived by the villains around him; and this might have been done in a far simpler way. On the other hand it is full of dignity; the inversions add emphasis, and the last line, characterising Truth, the Poet's characteristic, is admirable. I may here add, on the principle "Audi alteram partem," that D. Manoel's orders to Da Gama about representing himself, when occasion might require, either as a merchant

or as a warrior (Correa, chap. vi.) fully justified the Pagan Prince in suspecting him to be an adventurer.

LXXIII. 5.—*Liquido estanho* ("liquid tin") a Camonian metaphor for a *calmaria* ("calm at sea"). Translators shirk it or substitute nobler metals.

LXXV. 8.—"O magna vis veritatis!"

LXXVII. 7.—*Fazenda* here means cloth in the African-trade sense; not goods or treasure.

LXXVIII. 1.—The repetition of *mandar* (to send) is held by Fons. to be a *trocadilho* (jingle); and he quotes Horace about Homer's naps.

LXXXV.—"Si aliquem amicum existimes, cui non tantum credis quantum tibi, vehementer erras et non satis nosti vim amicitiæ."

LXXXVII.—The simile is from the Æneid (viii. 22) and Orlando F. (viii. 71), with added beauty of expression. But the Poet does injustice to his hero by the image, which is a true emblem of inconsistency and inconsequence; nor does it agree with the next stanza, in which the man of action becomes the man of forethought.

LXXXIX.—The sentiment is classical, dating from the days of the old Greek General, "Insapientis est dicere non putaram," says Cicero, whose "sapiens divinat." Again, "Scipio vero Africanus turpe esse aiebat in re militari dicere 'Non putaram'" (Valerius Max.). Lastly, "Turpissimum, aiebat Fabius, Imperatori (*tête-d'armée*) excusationem esse non putari" (Sen. de Ira, ii. 31). In line 8 *cuidar* (to believe, to imagine) is an old Neo-Latinism. So satiric Regnier sings:—

Il se plaist aux trésors qu'il cuide ravager.

Notes to Canto IX.

Stanza I. 1.—*Tiveram* ("they held") cloth? or Factors? asks Mac., who with the common Edits. suppresses the comma after *vender-se* (l. 2). According to the Roteiro the "Meca ships" numbered forty.

III.–VIII.—These stanzas were translated by me for Mr. Stanley's Correa (pp. 336–37).

XI. 2.—*Grita* is ancipitous. F. y S. renders it by the shouts and cries of the crews; others by the creaking and flapping of the gear: I have preferred the latter.

XIII.—Note, here and in the next stanza, the first line repeating the leading verb in the last verse of that preceding. This bears the symptoms of becoming a trick.

XIV. 1–4.—Mac. considers the quatrain a postscriptum, and justly remarks that the less said about this unworthy kidnapping the better.

XVIII. 1–3.—The joint mention of the Cyprian Goddess and the Padre Eterno is rightly blamed.

XXI. 6.—*Da mãe primeira* ("of the first mother") is an ambiguity which has caused a battle royal amongst commentators. The Edit. Princ. (1572) has *Da primeïra* (prime-ira), which is followed by Mac., Correa and Jur. This diæresis is judged not allowable; yet Correa declares that he heard it so pronounced by the Poet. The so-called second Edit. prefers *Da mãi primeira co' o terreno seio:* it is adopted by F. y S., who adds a third from MS. *Co' o terreno que cerca o grão Proteo* (with the ground encircled by great Proteus, or the sea). The Edit. of 1759 further debases it to *com a primeira*

do terreno seio. Assuming the earliest reading, the "first" (island) would refer to Ceylon: conversely Madeira is the last (*derradeira* Canto v. 5). The "first mother" would be either earth generally or the Asiatic Continent, the fabled cradle of mankind: others less correctly refer it to Eve. When all is said, the signification remains doubtful. Venus informs her son that she has prepared in the Neptune-realm a "divine isle which confines with the terrene bosom of the first mother," or Asia wherein was the terrestrial Paradise. I have preferred this reading with Paggi:—

> Che nel Regno ha pur molte, a cui confina
> De la Madre primiera il terren piano.

We now enter upon the celebrated and immense episode of the Isle of Love, which occupies nearly two Cantos or one-fifth of the Poem. Let us first in fairness allow the Poet's admirers to speak for themselves: their spokesman shall be the learned "Morgado."

"Follows that most beautiful picture of the Island which Venus so conducts and disposes to receive her protégés, that the Discoverers of India may there rest and enjoy the reward of carrying out their glorious enterprise. This proves (if such question were of importance) that the Island is imaginary, not in the Indian Seas but near the term of Da Gama's voyage. (Why?) The bold conception is adorned and treated with all the graces of poetry. Nowhere has the Bard allowed his fancy to flow with more of warmth and voluptuousness. The description of the ground and its gardens; the chance meeting of the Portuguese and the Nymphs; and all the preparations for the Feast of Delight, offer the most charming pictures ever painted by the rich and amorous fancy of Camoens—pictures which a Tasso might imitate but not excel. We marvel

how the Poet, in drawing these delicious scenes, not only avoids offending delicacy, but rather excites the soul to generous sentiment by his explanation of the enchanting allegory. Surely its detractors never compared it with parallel passages in other poets; or they would have detected the higher art which covered the canvas with tints so lively, so stirring, and yet so inoffensive to pure taste. The character of Camoens, raised above the bards by tenderness of heart, united with manliness and magnanimity, here becomes conspicuous."

Humboldt[1] (pp. 224–7, vol. ii., Cosmos, London, Bell, 1861), after praising Camoens for his fine sea-pictures, notices that the vegetation of the Island belongs to Southern Europe. It is fanciful as the place itself, for, though Camoens may have landed at Zanzibar, he never found there violet or narcissus. But the picture is realised in The Brazil, where citron and pomegranate, myrtle and poplar, palm and pine grow side by side.

The "detractors" either take the violent part, like the builder of the Temple of Love (Henriade, ix.), who compares this Delos with a sailors' boozing-ken in Amsterdam, and at best with a Moslem Paradise. Or they charge the whole episode with being an excrescence tagged on when the proper action of the Poem had ended; and they blame the minutiæ. Like all the fairest scenes that Poetry creates, this "celestial lubberland" is open to parody, and we can hardly help contrasting the immortal Nymphs with their jack-tar lovers, ill-dressed and unclean, with language unrefined and ideas undeveloped. But the same fault may be found

[1] I read that José Gomez Monteiro, in his Treatise upon the site of the Isle of Venus, opposes Humboldt (Burnell's "Tentative List," etc., Mangalore, 1880).

with the Island of Calypso (Odys. v.) and the Garden of Alcinoüs (ibid. viii.); with the Elysium of Virgil (Æn. v.) and Milton; with Dante's Terrestrial Paradise (Purg. xxxviii.); with Ariosto's "false Alcina's empery" O. F. vi. 20, etc.); with Spenser's Mount Acidale (F. Q., vi. 10) and with Tasso's Paradise of Armida (Ger. xvi.). The song of "the wondrous bird" perhaps makes the latter best of all: nothing can be more charming than the lines that begin :—

So in the passing of a day doth pass, etc.

The Philisters regret that the gauze of Camoens' allegory was not thicker, so as to give the festal enjoyment the requisite delicacy; for :—

Search the world o'er, man aye shall find
The nice a very nasty mind.

And not a few immodestly apologise for the Poet's departure from the strictest sobriety of description, by the latitude which the manners of his age allowed.

The reader will not forget that the Isle is allegorical. For instance, in St. 87 :—

The Queen enjoys her loves in palace-bowers;
The Nymphs in sylvan shades amid the flowers.

Da Gama, now mated with Tethys (the Sea) who formerly proved herself a mortal foe of the Portuguese, (vi. 36), attains a fame of the highest degree. His followers must be satisfied with simpler rewards, praise, pay, and pension. Possibly Camoens, an "omnis homo," may have derived the idea of the immortal Brides, for there is marriage and a marriage-feast, from Hindu mythology. The Gandharbas ("celestial musicians") become the wives of distinguished mortals, and Gandharba-lagan (nymph-espousals) is the Sanskrit

term for such unions, which are legal although dispensing with clerical aid. Mickle (Dissert. cxxxix.) took the right view when he wrote. "The description is warm indeed, but it is chaste as the first loves of Adam and Eve in Milton, and entirely free from that grossness to be found in Dante, Ariosto, Spenser, and in Milton himself."

To speak as a traveller. The Isle of Love embodies the sense of self-esteem, the satisfaction, the revenge of success, and the "rapture of repose" following a successful exploit full of difficulty, hardship, pain, and danger. Every explorer knows it right well. Camoens has expressed it, has embodied it in the guise of glorious allegory. This episode is a triumph of genius and art, of tact and taste, of glowing language and of suggestive delicacy. I have rendered every line literally; and the reader will agree with me that only false shame and mock modesty can find fault with a single word.

The Commentators have further distinguished themselves by trying to discover the latitude and longitude of the Fabled Isle. As well seek for the "Topothesía" of the Gardens and Pleasaunces in the Poets who preceded ours. Generally it is connected with wretched Anjediva, the Islet near Goa where Da Gama watered, and which Camoens did not deign to mention. But a passage in Osorio (De Reb. Emm., ii.) has suggested Zanzibar Island; and I am convinced that he is right.

XXII. 5.—*Danças e choreas*, says Mac., means "dances and dances."

XXIII.—Βύρσα, the ox-hide, is a Greek corruption of the Semitic "Basrah," meaning a Capitol, a Hauteville, an upper town. So our "Thong Castles" of Grimsby and Sittingbourne, referred to a similar legend, are from Tunga, a land-tongue.

XXIV. 4.—Perístera, the Dove-nymph; a charming

allusion. Here the song of the swan is classical: in ix. 63 it is realistic.

XXV. 1.—The oft-mentioned Cinyras was king of Idalium (Dali) in Cyprus: Jur. (vi. xxx.) confounds the Idalian hills (Æn. i. 691) with Trojan Ida. Adonis was killed at Idalium (εἶδον ἄλιον ἦλιον), where King Chalcanor first saw the sun rise. Some derive the Island's name from Kypros, a son or daughter of Cinyras, it is the Semitic "Kibris" = henna (*Lawsonia inermis*). F. y S. holds that Venus and Cupid here represent the divine love of which Boetius sang:—

> O felix hominum genus
> Si vestros animos Amor
> Quo Cœlum regitur, regat.

Cupid's reforming Expedition allows Camoens to reflect upon D. Sebastiam's court and people; the sporting man (Actæon, xxvi.); the selfish noble (xxvii.); the Jesuits, the Inquisitors, et hoc genus omne (xxviii.).

XXVII. 4.—*Philaucia*, φιλαυτία, self-love, egotism opposed to altruism: a coinage of the Poet.

XXX. 6.—The language of the Sonnets (No. 1). The Cupid-lads appear in Orlando F. (vi. 75).

XXXI.—This highly imaginative Stanza has been much admired.

XXXIII. 1.—The fair Nymphs are, they say, licit, the plain illicit, loves. We may reverse them: *on aime les belles; on adore les laides.*

XXXIV.—Byblis and Caunus of Miletus (Ovid, Met. ix. 453). The "Assyrian" (l. 8) may be either Ninias (not Ninus), the son of Semiramis, or Antiochus son of Seleucus: the "Judean" applies indifferently to Reuben (and Bilbah, Gen. xxxv. 22) or to Amnon Son of David (and Tamar, 2 Sam. xiii. 1–29).

XXXV.—Mac. holds this epiphonema puerile and unworthy: it is certainly extrà-naïve.

XLI.—The unsavoury observations of Voltaire and Mac. are perhaps founded upon this Stanza.

XLIV.—Fame is from the Æneid (iv. 178). In line 2 the epithet *terceira* (a third) has a secondary meaning which the prurient pronounce "hardly honest."

LIV.—Here begins the physical description of the Isle of Love, a gem. The Commentators make the three hills the poetic Olympus, Pindus, and Hæmus, or the Pelion, Ossa and Olympus of the Giants' wars; and the three founts Hippokrene, Aganippe and Arethusa. Both features suit the soft and beautiful scenery of Zanzibar Island ("Zanzibar," etc., i. chap. 1). The last distich would be more literally rendered:—

> And from the glittering rocks in soft descent
> Coursed the canorous fugitive element.

LVI.—The forest of Camoens, compared with that of Chaucer in the Assembly of Fowles, shows the poetic effect of the gorgeous tropical scenery. It ceases to be a "lieu commun"; as in Tasso (iii. 75–6):—

> L'un l'altro esorta che le piante atterri.
>
> (This bids his mate to level every plant).

as in Spenser (i. 8–9) beginning with:—

> The Laurell, meed of mighty conqueror.

and as in Childe Harold (i. 19):—

> The horrid crags by toppling convent crowned,
> The cork-trees, etc.

LVII. 6.—Cybele and Atys are celebrated in Sonnet CXC.

LVIII. 5.—I have attemped to preserve the assonance

between *Amoras* (mulberries) and *Amores* (loves). Nervi has—

> Indi la dolce rubiconda mora
> Che dall' istess' Amore il nome tiene.

LIX. 4–8.—F. y S. makes this difficult passage contain three figures; apostrophe to the pears; Prosopopeia converting the inanimate into animate, and Irony or sarcasm advising the trees to suffer damage, when the reverse is meant. Lamarre (p. 550) sadly distorts the sense with his *poire au corsage élancé*. The meaning seems to be "Patiently suffer the birds to eat, and thus to lighten your burden of fruit, if you would prevent your boughs breaking down with its weight."

LX. 3.—Achæmenes is, in old Persian, Hakhámanish (Behist. Inscrip. Col. 1, pp. 1, 2). It may mean friendly-minded; Hakhá (for Sakhá, a friend) + man (mind). This Heros Eponymus of the Achæmenidæ led the last migration of the Persians about B.C. 700. Camoens uses him for "Persian," like Ovid:—

> Rexit Achæmenias urbes Pater Orchemus, etc.

Orchemus being probably Urukh. Also Lucan (ii. 49), and Ausonius (Epig. xxxvii.). According to the Greeks, the progenitor of the Achæmenians was Perses, son of Perseus, son of Danaë. In line 5 the Cephissian flower is the narcissus; and Adonis (l. 7) is the anemone, born of his blood.

LXI. 1–4.—This beautiful idea is perhaps borrowed from the alliteration and rhyme of Ausonius (Idyl. xiv.):—

> Ambigeres raperet ne rosis Aurora ruborem,
> An daret, et flores tingeret orta dies.

It is found in Ariosto (xxxiv. 49); and reappears in Tasso (iv. 75). Mac. and Ferr. give us their measure

by pronouncing it a *trocadilho* (jingle) or *Contraposto* (conceit of contraries) sounding of *Seicentismo* and *Gongorismo*. The white violet is alluded to (l. 6); as by Horace (Od. iii. 10) "tinctus viola pallor amantium"; by Ovid (Ars Am.), "palleat omnis amans, hic est color aptus amantium"; by Petrarch (Sonn. cxlix.), "S' un pallor di viola e d' amor tinto"; and by the beautiful and hapless Mary Stuart on the death of her first husband:—

> Mon pâle visage de violet teint,
> Qui est l'amoureux teint.

In line 7, *O lirio roxo* (the red lily) is translated "hyacinth" and "iris": the passage is also referred to Ovid (Met. x. 215) who assigns the letters A I, A I, to the "Œbalian boy," and others to Ajax. But our liliaceous hyacinth bears no such marks, whilst the tiger-lily, St. John's lily, has. The *lirio* is contrasted (lxii. 1) with the *Cecem*, *açucena* or *assucena*, the white lily which, in Heb. and Arab. "Súsan," gave the names Susan and Susannah. Here Narcissus represents the Asphodel of the Elysian fields, the Easter-lily of our old poets; the Daffadowndilly or Daffodil.

LXVII. 5.—The canonical day between sunrise and sunset was divided into four watches: Prima (3–6 A.M.); Terza (6–9 A.M.); Sesta (9 A.M. to midday); Nona or vespers (to 3 P.M.); and, lastly, Complines. *Altas sestas* (high noon) would allude to the sun in zenith, and the hottest hours of the tropical twenty-four.

LXIII. 1.—Camoens knew that swans sing without dying: I have often heard their curious piping.

LXXIII. 5.—*Tal de mancebos ha* ("one of the youths there is") grammatically singular as shown by *vestido*, *calçado* (shod) etc., has a plural meaning: our language will not supply this subtle shade of expression.

Mac. finds the image of the ardent youth very "hycastic": it sounds like Virgil's "Procubuit humi bos."

LXXVI–LXXXI.—Ephyre, daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, gave a name to Corinth. Portuguese writers detect perfect beauty in the wooing of Leonardo, which contains many of the Poet's pet expressions. Mac. brands the "Senhor Leonardo" as a "prowler." Musgrave remarks (pp. 548–9) that the address has "more ingenuity than pathos," and discerns a "metaphysical subtlety in his declaratory description (!) of his adverse fate, and of the capricious persecution to which by luckless destiny he has always been exposed, that is inconsistent with impassioned sentiment." Here the "luckless destiny" is that of a Poet again exposed to so merciless a Proser.

LXXVIII. 8.—Quoted from Petrarch (Sonnet 43):—

> What wall is built between the hand and corn.
> Macgregor.

Ariosto, vii. 25, has the same sentiment:—

> *Che tra'l frutto e la man non gli sia messo.*
> (That 'twixt the fruit and hand it be not placed.)

I have preserved Camoens' quotation with its *spiga* for *spica*: it sounds better in the original on account of the similarity of the languages. Anglicè it would be:—

> And thou shalt notice at the end of all
> 'Twixt ear and sickle how upstands the wall.

LXXV. 5–8.—A fair specimen of Camonian inversion and involved parenthesis.

LXXXIX.—Mac. puts the dilemma as follows:—Camoens knew that the gods either did or did not exist. In the former case he should have supported their reality to the end. In the latter he should not have used them

at all. Very true! still a poetic reader would rather be wrong with Camoens than be right with his critic. But we would willingly dispense with the next stanza (xc.) explaining the heathen gods, although it is taken from Cicero (De Nat. Deor. ii. 24), and it may be sound anthropology. The minuteness is worthy of a German dramatist; and *per aspera ad astra* or *sic itur ad astra* (Æn. ix. 64) is worth the whole tirade. But, as has been said, these hermeneutics, which show the priestly hand, were probably added by ecclesiastical injunction.

XCIII. 7–8. — So Camoens' contemporary Ercilla (La Araucana, canto xxxvii.):—

Y las honras consisten no en tenerlas;
Sinó en solo arribar a merecerlas.
(No Honour his who doth of honours boast;
Honour is his who doth deserve them most.)

Notes to Canto X.

Stanza I. 3.—The "great Lake" is the Pacific Ocean, a Homerism (Limne for Thálassa, Okeanòs, or Strabo's Limnothalatta), which we have seen before. The Mexican water, which gave a name to the chief city, was called Tihcuco, and the valley Tenochtitlan: the Portuguese applied Temistatam to country and capital. Larissæa, or Coronis, the mother of Æsculapius, unfairly termed *adultera*, is from Ovid (Met. ii. 542).

III.—The banquet is that of the Iliad (i. 601); of the Æneid (i. 740); and especially of the Pharsalia (x. 154), where Cleopatra entertains Cæsar.

VII. 4.—Of *globo* . . . *rotundo* Mac. remarks that globes are mostly round, not square or triangular. Here is again the Magic Mirror (viii. 45).

VIII. 3.—"Cithara crinitus Iopas" (Æn. i. 744) and Demodokus the Odyssey-bard (viii. 62, and xiii. 27), who sang to King Alcinoüs of the Phæakes = Corcyræans, Corfu-men. Modern writers suppose the latter to be an historical personage.

IX.—This complaint, written between æt. 45 and 50, is "Eheu fugaces," &c. (Hor. Od. ii. 14): it has no business here; but it is not the less beautiful.

X.—The fair Nymph plunges with a "furentis animi vaticinatio" into Da Gama's second Voyage.

XVII. 1–4.—Pacheco, "Conqueror of the Indies," levelled the bombard at the Rajah's ensigns: it killed two of the enemy's men, spattered him with blood, and drove him to flight.

XVIII. 1.—He, *i.e.*, the Samiry Rajah.

XXI. 2.—Mac. justly abuses "Darius"; and we far prefer to the 4,000 of Camoens Byron's

> Of the three hundred grant but three.

XXIV. 4–8.—This bitter apostrophe, which Mac. calls an "atrocious invective," refers to the two Jesuit brothers, Councillors of the King, and to courtly flatterers of the type Sá de Miranda, Ferreira, Bernardes, and Caminha. In line 8 some Edits. have *Dão-nos* (they give us) for *Dão-os* (they give them, *i.e.* gifts).

XXV. 8.—"Crudelitatis mater est avaritia et pater furor" (Rutilius Rus. ii. 2).

XXVI. 1.—D. Francisco d'Almeida, first Viceroy, and his son D. Lourenço.

XXIX. 6.—*Com fogo . . e ferro . . ferve:* the fs, observes F. y S., show the fury of the fight.

XXX. 7.—Scæva is from the Pharsalia (vi. 126). His

tearing out his left eye was rivalled by my heroic friend, Baroche (jun.), during the Prussian siege of Paris.

XXXII. 7.—Here the *trabuco*, mentioned with guns, appears a fire-arm, not a catapult, or stone-slinger.

XXXIV.—The bull trying his horns is from Lucan (ii. 600).

XXXVI. 6.—*She* (*i.e.* the fleet) of Mir Husayn, the Turk.

XXXVIII. 6.—*Que não os intendéram* ("who did not understand them") is preferred to *não nos* ("not us"); the article (*os*) referring to *juizos* (judgments), whereas the personal pronoun (*nos*) is idle.

XLI. 7, 8.—The enemies of Camoens must have made merry over a Pagan Nymph hymning "The Church" before a mixed audience, Heathen and Christian.

XLIV. 6.—*Os crises*, the Malay crease, or wave-edged dagger.

XLIX. 8.—The allusion here is to the hanging of Ruy Dias by Albuquerque; the supposed subject of Sonnet c. The older Portuguese said *Frandes* and *Ingrezes* for "Flandes" and "Inglezes."

L. 5.—El-Medinah is "abominable" because, says F. y S., *esta en ella el cuerpo del abominable Mahoma, y se usa mucha supersticion.* Not bad for an adorer of Saints and worshipper of relics!

LII. 4.—Saba is Sabæa, hod. El-Yemen. Kandáke seems to have been a dynastic or rather a queenly Ethiopian title; two Candaces being well known. One attacked Egypt in the Augustan days, and was beaten in Abyssinia by the Prefect Petronius (B.C. 22). The other received, they say, Christianity from her chief Eunuch and treasurer Juda, a disciple of St. Philip.

LIII. 5.—Musgrave (p. 564) misexplains the *desterro* (exile of Da Gama) by his second voyage in 1502. It refers to his forced retirement from the court of a mean,

jealous, and greedy King, D. Manoel, between that date and 1524. In the latter year D. Joam repaid him by the appointment of Viceroy, which came too late.

LIV. 5–7.—D. Henrique de Menezes (A.D. 1525) was free from two of the seven "mortal sins"—the "enemies of the soul."

LVII. 6.—*Abrolhos* (lit. "eye-openers") means reefs; dangerous shoals, like those near Rio de Janeiro: metaphorically it applies to "stumbling-blocks," hidden risks, "thorns in the flesh," &c.

LXII. 4.—Antonio da Sylveira (l. 4) made so great a name when governor ad interim of Diu that, according to Millié, François I. placed his portrait near that of Bayard in the Historical Gallery. "Gama's branch" (l. 6.) is his son Estevam in A.D. 1540.

LXII. 4.—The "French pirate" is Villegagnon. He was expelled from Rio de Janeiro by Martim Affonso de Souza, who governed India in A.D. 1542.

LXVII. 1.—Camoens has been blamed for playing upon the similarity of sound in *Marte* and *Martinho*. Possible that his commentators never heard of the "Fatalism of names" so familiar to the classics? See Æschylus (Act i.) for Agamemnon's treatment of "Helen" and Cymbeline (v. 5) for Leo-natus. In line 5 D. Joam de Castro (A.D. 1545) worthily ends the list of Viceroys.

LXVIII. 8.—The old term *Mostasos* from the Gr. Μύσταξ is found in Barbosa (p. 104), and is still used in Majorca. There are two derivations for *bigode* (mustachio) 1st the English or German soldier's usual oath, and 2nd from Goth or Visigoth. So Fidalgo and Hidalgo may be "filho de algum" (qui patrem ciere potest) or filho de Go (Goth). Cagot, however, is not canis gothi: the word according to Dr. H. Tuke is the Celto-Breton "cacod," meaning a leper. The twisting of the mustachio is a

well-known military practice in India. Mahmud Shah of Gujarát was called Bigarrah ("cow with the crumpled horns") because, as Varthema says, he could tie the mustachios which grew under his nose over his head as a woman would her tresses.

LXIX. 3.—(Joam de) Mascarenhas, who succeeded Sylveira at Diu, must not be confounded with the Viceroy (D. Pedro de) Mascarenhas.

LXXII. 4.—The "fierce multitude quadrupedant" alludes to the elephants of the Cambayan (Gujaráti) Melique (King), Bahadur Shah. Hydalcham (l. 6) is Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur.

LXXVII.—The solar system is according to Ptolemy. Compare with the Cosmogony of Epicurus (Lucr. lib. v.): the latter, however, is argumentative and scientific; Camoens is poetical.

LXXXII. 7, 8.—A couplet for Spiritualistic newspapers.

LXXXIV. 2.—Horace's "utile dulci."

LXXXVI. 1.—*Rapto*, that is, moving the orbs from East to West. Bacon (Inst. Magna, cap. iv.) speaks of the "rapture of the first motion." *Curso alheio* (l. 4) appears to mean varying in length: I here again preserve "alien." The slow and lagging orb (ll. 4–8) alludes to the chrystalline sphere (No. 9) revolving in 49,000 years.

LXXXVII.—Here, says Mac., begin the *olhas* ("see") which number 29.

LXXXVIII. 5.—Souza, Padre Aquino and Jur., following F. y S., read *O gesto turbulento*, which does not rhyme with *horrendo*. F. and M. prefer *tremendo* and Fons. *metuendo*, a Latinism. Orion was a "turbulent": he began by an attempt upon Diana's chastity; and he was stung to death by a scorpion which found its way into the Zodiac.

XCI.—Commentators quote the Archangel Michael revealing futurity to Adam after his fall. In line 1 *Posada* is an inn opposed to a home.

XCIII. 2.—Gonçalo de Silveira the Jesuit martyred A.D. 1561.

XCIV. 6.—*Bando*, "a flock" (of birds).

XCV. (*a*).—I translated (line 6) after Thos. Watson :—

> For there they fell where long my heart had li'ne
> To wait for Love and what he should assign.

But I fear that the weaker brethren will detect an error of "lain" for "laid."

XCVIII. 2.—Rose (Bohn, 520) "does not know why Ariosto (xv. 39) styles Egypt the 'land of heroes.'" This passage, referring to the classical Heroöpolis, a corruption already noticed, may explain it.

XCIX. 1.—The Sinai of vulgar error.

C. 3.—The Rabytes are Arab horses.

CI. 4.—*Roçalgate*=Ras el-Hadd, the "Frontier-cape" or Easternmost projection of Arabia. Line 6 alludes to D. Pedro de Castel-Branco, Governor of Hormuz.

CIV. 4.—*Lára*, by paragoge for Lar.

CVI. 2.—Jaquete is the Gulf of Cutch. *Do mar o enchente* (flux or flow) is the impetus maris, the Hindostani "ghorá" (stallion) and the Anglo-Indian "Bore." Its rush into the Gulf of Cambay is well described by Varthema and is alluded to by every traveller. America shows it in the Bay of Fundy. The phenomenon is the Anglo-Sax. Egor, the Higre, Eagre, Acker or Aker of the Severn, Trent and Humber. As "Agar" it was personified :—"Hee (Neptune) sendeth a monster called the Agar, against whose coming the waters roare, the fowles flie away, and the cattel in the field for terrour shun the banks" (Lilly's Galathea, i. 1).

CVIII.–CXVIII.—These stanzas contain the cele-

brated episode of Saint Thomas who is introduced, like St. John by Ariosto (xxxiv. 58), but with peculiar impropriety, worse than Saint Catherine in the Siren's mouth. Some, as Marsden, find authority for an Apostolic mission to India in St. Jerome, who, however, held it to be not a point of faith but a "matter of history, known and admitted." Others add that a Chaldaic breviary, used by Indian Christians, offers praise to God for sending St. Thomas to India and China. Assemani, followed by many, makes the doubting Apostle pass from India to China, found a church at Cambalá (Pekin), and return to "Maliapor in Malabar." In The Brazil early missionaries, especially Padre Nobrega, came upon ample traces of the Disciple, which served to explain many ethnological difficulties: they confounded him with a local god, Zomé or Sumé. It is certain that the Portuguese met in India (and Ethiopia) "Christians of Saint Thomas": their rite is quaintly described as "half Greek, half Judæan," probably from their circumcision, from their mode of communion and from their sale of the sacraments. They then numbered some 200,000 souls and declared that for 1,300 years they had been governed by a legate under the Patriarch of Baghdad. The strangers on arrival found one Ya'akúb styling himself "Matrán (Metropolitan) of all India and China." Throughout the latter Empire it is evident that Christianity was more powerful in the XVIth than in the XIXth century, and the same was probably the case with India.

According to Marco Polo (iii. xx. 4) the martyrdom took place in the Province of Ma'abar ("Place of Transit"). He says "an idolater of the tribe of Gacci (Káchhi, Cochin?) who happened to be passing that way, did not perceive the holy man, shot an arrow (*freccia*) at a peacock (N.B. a sacred bird amongst Hindus, and the Yezidis or Devil-worshippers) and struck the

Apostle in the side," the wound being thus like that of Jesus. Finding himself mortally hurt, he had only time to thank the Lord for all His mercies; and into His hands he resigned his spirit. The Venetian adds that the body was revered by Moslems as well as Christians, and that Thomas was called Ananias. Barbosa[1] tells us (p. 158) that his miraculous church was built near Coulam in Western India and that the right arm of the holy corpse would remain outside the earth (p. 176).

In A.D. 1524 the body of the Apostle, with the lance-head beside it, was found by D. Duarte de Menezes in his church near Maylapur,[2] one of the 3,300 built by St. Thomas; and, in 1558, it was removed to Goa by D. Constantino de Braganza. What became of it? Subsequently, says Osorio, broken tablets were brought to the Viceroy, Martim Affonso de Souza; and a learned Jew (?) interpreted the characters to mean that St. Thomas had founded a chapel at Meliapor. Dr. Burnell was the first to point out that the supposed tomb bears a Nestorian inscription in Pehlevi (circ. A.D. 800–900), like similar stones behind altars in the Travancore churches. In 1562, the Portuguese Bishop of Cochin reported to Cardinal Enrico at Rome that, when the ancient oratory of St. Thomas was being repaired, a stone cross was turned up and a Brahman (?) interpreted the inscription as follows:—"In the reign of Sagam (Sagana), Thomas was sent by the Son of God, whose disciple he was, to teach the law of Heaven in

[1] This traveller exaggerates the miracle, making the peacock turn into Saint Thomas (p. 175). Among Moslems the bird labours under the reproach of having assisted Satan to tempt Adam and Eve. With Hindus it is sacred to the god Kárttikeya (or Subrahmanya).

[2] The "large and beautiful church" at "Malepur" is noticed by Niccolò de' Conti, p. 7.

India; he built a church and was killed by a Brahman (?) at the altar." Andrada (Vida de D. Joam de Castro) declares that the Apostle converted the Kings of Pande, Malabar, Coromandel and their neighbours. The martyrdom was fixed on Dec. 21, A.D. 30. In 1625 when digging a foundation at Sian-fu, capital of the Shen-si Province, the workmen found a stone with a cross. The latter, covered with Chinese and Christian characters, contained the names of the Bishops and an account of their faith. "It was brought from India and, having been weakened, it was renewed under the reign of the Great Tam" (A.D. 630).

Possibly the name originated from some Nestorian missionary who travelled to India; or the "Ananias" of M. Polo may have been converted to St. Thomas by the pretensions of the Syrian and Chaldæan Churches. A whole literature has grown up around the subject: Adrien Baillet has his doubts; and the Revd. Mr. Medhurst, followed by a confident crowd, rejects all rationalistic explanation.

CVIII. 2. — Thŏmĕ is the saintly; Thomas and Thomaz are the secular names. In line 4 the "Devil's laws" are the Vedas and Puranas; the Zoroastrian Holy Writ; the books of Confucius and the Koran.

CIX. 2.—Old Meliapor is correctly described by Camoens as being at some distance from the shore; but floods destroyed it, and the sea consumed the twelve intermediate leagues. Castéra supposes the word to mean peacock (Mailapuram = Peacock-town). It then became Sam Thomé, a townlet three or four miles South of Fort St. George, Madras. Here "Little Mount," a rocky mound, supports an ancient chapel, where they still show the *Pegadas* or prints of hands and feet made by the Saint in prayer. There is also a Saint Thomas quarter in heretical Madras.

CX.—The miracles of St. Thomas are from Barros (Dec. iii. 54, 7, 11). John de Marignolli mentions the huge log (l. 4), and brings it from Adam's Peak, Ceylon (Cathay and the Way Thither, Hakluyt's, 1866, vol. 1, lxxxix. and ii. pp. 374–79). The timber and building episode are perverted from Syriac church-literature. The Hindu King, Sagana, is taken from the mythical part of the Vijayanagara (or Vidyanagara); and his reign was not earlier than A.D. 1300. Varthema (p. 127) saw three elephants drag a ship from sea to land; and graphically describes the process (comp. Turpin; Pinkerton i. 613): he also alludes (p. 177) to the miracles of St. Thomé's relic. Line 1 repeats *pregando* from cix. 7: apparently this is a later style of the Poet.

CXIII. 5.—The "threads" are the Janeo of India, and the Zunnár of Arabia and Persia. This three-stranded "Brahminical cord" of cotton, passed over the left shoulder, and hanging down the right side, is supposed to be symbolical of the Hindu Triad; and it denotes the Dwija or Twice-born. The last couplet is "Væ vobis, hypocritæ!"

CXV. 1–4.—"I will raise you up suddenly," says Rabelais, "any dead man you like, just as Apollonius of Tyana raised Achilles."

CXXII.—According to Castéra (Paris Edit. 1768) a Chinese ship was wrecked on the Pegu coast, and only a woman and a dog survived: hence the monstrous fable. He gives the name of the "subtle Queen" as "Canana." A story like that of the dog is told about a lion in Ceylon, and was probably based upon false etymology.

CXXVI. 4.—Bramás = Burmans, Burmese. The tattooing of the Gueons or Karens (last couplet) is described as being burnt in, or rather burnt up, as by certain African tribes. In parts of New Guinea this ornament is not permitted till after murder: a man will say when

quarrelling, "Who art thou to talk thus? Where are thy tattoo-marks? Whom hast thou slain that thou darest speak to me?"

CXXVIII.—In this famous couplet the singer personifies himself as "Song." Some hold that *Será* (shall or will be, in line 6 *Sera o injusto mando executado*) suggests that the shipwreck preceded instead of followed the Poet's exile to Macáo. But *ser* means either to be or to become (vulg. *estar*); and the allusion is to past time,—"shall have been." Donner well renders the last couplet:—

> Dem seiner Laute volles helles Klingen,
> Mehr Ruhm hinfort als Erdenglück will bringen.

CXXX.—The Wall parts China from Tartary.

CXXXI. 3.—The "Islands of the Sea" refers to Malasia. F. y S. explains the last couplet:—"the introduction of Christianity into Japan will consecrate its silver mines to Church service (*i.e.*, be applied to missions) and thus add a spiritual value." I have noted that the forecast has been stultified by fact.

After CXXXI. there appears to be a break in the narrative, as if the following Stanzas were the result of a second visit.

CXXXIII.—The Banda Archipelago; the nutmeg (of which clove was long supposed to be the flower, Cathay, etc. ii. 473) and the nutmeg-pigeon. Camphor (l. 7) is first mentioned by the Arabs; the Classics ignored it.

CXXXIV. 2.—*Sandalo*, sandal-wood or Saunders. Sunda (l. 3) is Java.

CXXXV.—The Poet now retraces his way westward viâ Sumatra and Ceylon to Madagascar. The odorous juice (l. 5) is Styrax Benzoin, Gum Benjamin: it is preferred to the bitter gum (*Balsamodendron Myrrha*) named from the daughter of Cinyras.

CXXXVI.—The last quatrain alludes to the Coco-de-mer which Barros (iii. 3, 7) describes as a palm growing under water: its fruit is larger than the cocoa-nut, and its shell is a mithridate more valuable than the bezoar-stone. It is now used chiefly for begging bowls.

CXXXVII. 2.—"Aloe," in Cosmas Ἀλόη (p. 336), is evidently derived not from the Heb. Ahalim, but from the Arab. El-Ud, *the* (perfumed) wood: Ibn Batutah calls it Ud el-Komar ("wood of Comorin"). This word (Úd) also gave rise to liuto, luth, lute. The confusion between Aloes-wood (*Agallochum*) and the Aloe-shrub which yields the valuable drug, is of old date. The *massa* (l. 6) is a second allusion to ambergris.

CXXXVIII. 6.—The Lusitanian is Magellan.

CXL. 3.—Holy Cross is the earliest name for The Brazil given by Cabral in A.D. 1500, because discovered on the day of the "Invention" of the Cross (May 1).

CXLI. 3.—The quasi-gigantic race is the Patagonian, meaning "Big-feet." Camoens evidently knew the congelation of the Southern Seas; and the last couplet may be an allusion to Australia.

CXLIV.—The new titles were "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India" (Barros, i. 4, 11).

CXLV.—Here begins the celebrated Epilogue addressed to Dom Sebastiam. The action of the Poem ends, like the Iliad, with a startling abruptness: Camoens probably intended this to give emphasis to the epiphonema "No more, my Muse! no more," and high relief to what follows. The conclusion remarkably resembles the Persian poet Jamí's speech to his Shah,[1]

[1] Salmán and Absál now published in English (London: Quaritch, 1879), and appended to the masterly translation of "Omar Khayyám": his name, by the by, should be written Omar-i-Khayyám.

Ya'akub Bey, which is, in fact, a warning against evil Counsellors.

CXLIII. 4–8.—*L'arte della guerra presto s'impara*, said the Italians: *La guerre ne s'apprend qu'à la guerre*, quoth Napoleon Buonaparte.

CLVI. 2—Atlas is the "Pillar of Heaven" in Herodotus (iv. 184). According to the Scholiast in Plato's Timæus it was 5,000 stades, or furlongs, high. Here we detect an exaggerated legend of the Tenerife Peak. In line 4 the common Edits. read *Os Mouros* (Moors) *de Marrocos:* Jur. prefers *Os muros* (the mures, the walls). This commentator argues from line 5 that Camoens had become an esteemed Poet, in favour with his King, when he himself expressly declares (St. cliv.) that he was wholly unknown to royalty. It is evidently the past for the future: "My muse, who, after writing her (coming) Sebastianade, shall have become prized and glad," &c. The last couplet of the Poem is variously understood by translators: some rendering *se veja* ("may see himself"), others "may be seen" in a reflective sense. Fanshaw has:—

> That Alexander shall in you respire
> Without envying the Mæonian lyre.

Mickle, as usual, shirks the difficulty, and paraphrases thus:—

> I, then inspired, the wondering world should see
> Great Ammon's warlike son revived in Thee;
> Reviv'd unenvious of the Muse's flame
> That o'er the world resounds Pelides' name.

Mitchell, however grotesque, is right:—

> That another Alexander thou shouldst then be;
> Who need not of Achilles feel any envy.

Aubertin also takes the second and better sense at the peril of ending his stanza with a weak word:—

> That Alexander shall be seen in thee,
> Nor of Achilles' fortune envious be.

Duff prefers the first :—

> When Alexander himself in thee surveys
> Achilles' fame no more shall envy raise.

I also originally wrote :—

> That Alexander shall unenvious see
> Achilles' fortunes, seeing self in Thee.

Notes on the Rejected Stanzas.

These Stanzas, rejected and omitted by Camoens, were discovered by Manoel de Faria y Sousa, and published in his Commentaries (Juan Sanches, 1639). The whole were extant in three manuscripts. Number I., the better of the two first, contained only six Cantos: Number II., belonging to Correia Montenegro, embraced the whole poem. The third MS., from Luiz Franco, and given by Viscount Juromenha (vol. vi. 419), had only four "rejected stanzas"; of which the first three were identical with those of Faria y Sousa; whilst the fourth was that of the established text (Canto i. 79), with a few unimportant changes of words and rhymes.

The Rejected Stanzas, now translated for the first time, number :—

MS. No. 1,	48 + 2 fragments	= 49
„ „ 2,	(Correia Montenegro's)	= 26
„ „ 3,	(Luiz Franco's)	= 4
	Total	79

I will not here enter into the consideration why the Stanzas were left out. Many of them fully equal those

retained in the popular "Lusiads"; but almost all contain something opposed to public, or rather to priestly, sentiment. A cursory glance shows that not a few want the polish and finish which distinguish the Poem; and I have purposely followed suit for the sake of contrast and fidelity. Juromenha's original text is printed in *verso*, that the reader may judge how literal is my version, which, for additional security, was submitted to Mr. J. J. Aubertin, the translator of "The Lusiads."

CANTO I. (after STANZA 77) l. 2.—The holy President is Prester John.

I. (Stanza 80).—"Make no interval." So Herod. (iii. 135) says "Darius put no long distance between the word and the deed."

III. (Stanza 10).—The Sarmatæ, Sauromatæ, Sauro-Medes, or Northern Medes of Herod. (iv. 116–17) are the more modern Sarmatians, now Slavs, the latest link between the Aryan family and its so-called Indo-European (not Indo-Germanic) branch. Like Scyths they were γαλακτοφάγοι and ἱππημολγοί, milk-feeders and milkers (Hom. xiii. 6): Dion Perieg., 309, also notices these Sarmatian nomads. The Mysi, Mæsi or Mysians, pastoral Scythians of Bulgaria, emigrated with the Teucrians from Europe to Asia (Herod. vii. 20) before the Trojan War,—an event which ranges between B.C. 1335 and B.C. 1140. Cluverius (Germ. Antiq.) conjoins "Pannonii Misique." The Abii are mentioned by Homer (Il. xiii. 9) in connexion with the Hippomolgians: "Abion" may mean either "long-lived" or "without bows." Borysthenes is the Dnieper, known to Herodotus.

III. (for Stanza 29).—I confess to not understanding this octave.

IV. (Stanza 2).—Camoens forgets to add Virgil or

Vergil (*a vergine*), also called Parthenias for the same reason.

IV. (Stanza 3) 2.—I have retained, as in Heliogabálus for Heliogab'alus, the Poet's false quantity,—Nectanébus for Nectánebus. This personage, Nakht-neb-f, the 1st King of the XXXth Egyptian dynasty, fought the Persians and was succeeded by Tachros in B.C. 369. Alexander reduced Egypt in B.C. 332.

IV. (Stanza 27).—Titan is an epithet of the Sun after Lucan (iv. 56 and vi. 743).

IV. (Stanza 35) 1.—(The lances) pierced, etc.

IV. (Stanza 40) 1.—*Sem medo*=Sans peur.

IV. (Stanza 40) 4.—Salazar plays the part of Galeotto (Sir Galahad) in Dante, and the Pander and Ribald in Ariosto (O. F. xiv. 24 and 124; xv. 6) and Chaucer. *Taful* (a parasite) is the popular Arab. "Tufeyl."

IV. (Stanza 40) 6.—*Montante* (broadsword) is properly the large and heavy two-handed blade.

IV. (Stanza 40) 8.—*Espadas* (from the Lat. Spatha) means either swords or (suit of) spades; card-players must not understand the latter to mean "an agricultural implement."

IV. (Stanza 44) 1. — These reflections follow the battle. The birds eating corpses are the Thracian cranes of Lucan (vii. 832). This octave was probably suppressed on account of the unpleasant nature of the subject (Millié-Dubeux).

IV. (Stanza 49) 2.—The traitor-Count again refers to Julian.

IV. (Stanza 49) 3.—*Rei Joanne* (paragoge) is D. Joam III. 6.—Camoens often alludes to Fortune, possibly because Julius Cæsar paid especial veneration to the Goddess Luck.

VI. (Stanza 94) 1. — Aubertin renders this Stanza as follows:—

Behold ! then, after this o'erwhelming fear
The good so long desired, within our range ;
So, after joyful interval appear
The powers of sadness,—a most certain change :
He who would seek to make this secret clear
Of seeing but uncertainty so strange,
Striving to reconcile all things in vain,
Instead of learning more, would lose his brain.

VI. (Stanza 94) 2.—This predestination-theory is after Solomon (?) "If it befall to me, as it befalleth to the fools, why should I labour to be more wise ?" (Eccles. ii. 15). Boethius (Cons. Phil. v. Prosa 3) and Chaucer (The Nonne Prest, etc., 414, and Troilus and Cressida, iv. 995 et seq.), also discuss "Free-will." The Cabral is Fernam Alvares with whom Camoens sailed, not Pedr' Alvares who discovered The Brazil. The latter, curious to say, is not alluded to by Camoens. Simonides is from Phædrus, iv. 24.

VIII. (Stanza 32) 1.—The founder is Pero Rodrigues de Landroal.

VIII. (Stanza 32) 2.—Ducal Gemes is D. Jayme.

VIII. (Stanza 32) 3.—Trudante, Tarudant or Terodant, the chief town of the Sús Province in Marocco, lies some 125 miles S.-West of the Capital : it is still a considerable town.

X. (Stanza 72) 5.—*Adail de Zafim* ("guide of Zafim") : the first word is the Arab. El-Dalil, the guide ; Zafim, Azaffi, Asfi or Saffi, properly Sofiyah, is a Moroccan port which still trades with England, but has declined since the building of Mogador. The learned Editor of Lancaster's Voyages (Hakluyt, pp 145, 152) wrongly interprets "Saffee in Barbary" by Sallee.

X. (Stanza 72) 6.—Barriga tears up the stake to which he was bound.

X. (Stanza 72) 10.—These lines are our Chevy Chase :—

"For Witherington, needs must I wayle," etc.

X. (Stanza 73) 4.—See the Ballad of Brave Lord Willoughby.

X. (Stanza 73) 6.—*Por direito* ("by shortest tract") meaning that Magellan went neither to the right nor to the left.

X. (Stanza 73) 9.—*Agoar* means to mix with water, to weaken, to dull (colour).

X. (Stanza 73) 10.—A Prophecy not unlikely to be realised.

X. (Stanza 73) 11.—Lusbel or Luzbel is a corruption of Lucifer.

X. (Stanza 141).—Magellan.

I will end this chapter with the appreciative address to Camoens by the French poet Millevoye (Invention Poétique):—

> Chantre navigateur, cher aux Nymphes du Tage,
> Les Neuf Sœurs te gardaient un moins riche partage;
> Mais à travers les pleurs qu' Inès obtient encore,
> Nous admirons les traits de ton Adamastor.

NOTANDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I. p. 29.—What F. y S. says of the lost Parnaso of Luis de Camoens is "in 1600, at the age of eleven, this volume (of MSS.) was borrowed from me by a youth who at once went to study at Coimbra. There was living at the time Francisco Rodrigues Lobo, who presently published his book entitled *Primavera* in prose and verse: I have ever thought that it contained some things of those that were in the other volume (the MSS.)" He then specifies the passages alluded to.

Vol. I. p. 107.—Manoel de Faria y Sousa *was* the author of the Asia Portugueza: the elder Saverim (p. 41) was *not*. See Adam. vol. ii. p. 326; Jur. vol. i. pp. 529, 531 and 536.

Vol. I. p. 391.—Dr. A. Burnell writes to me that he found in the Marciana Library, Venice, a letter of Dom Manoel about the voyages of A.D. 1500–1505, and events in India during those five years. He is reprinting this unique Italian document addressed to D. Ferdinand in 1505; but my copy has unfortunately not yet reached me.

CONCLUSION.

EXEGI MONUMENTUM! It may be only wood-work, not bronze, and far less that which outlasts bronze: even wood, however, has claims upon the sympathy and affections of its handler; and I end my work not without regret. There is something emotional in taking leave of a labour which has occupied, amid the intervals of travel and exploration, nearly the third of a life; and in this case it touches me the more, as it is one of my last.

Yet, however severe has been the discontinuous toil, I cannot but feel a glow of pleasure at having undertaken it, at having lived so long in contact with so noble a spirit as that of my Master. I also take pride in the ambition of familiarising my fellow-countrymen with a "man and a maker," a workman and a work not readily to be rivalled in the region of literature.

It is my belief that no single publication extant gives so full and general a portrait of Camoens, his Life and his Lusiads, as this now offered to the public. My Volumes have been written where Libraries do not exist; consequently they contain faults and imperfections manifold. But the sins of commission and omission are, I

believe, rather in details and in minutiæ than in capital and essential matters: I shall be happy to amend them; and my hope is to see critics correct me as freely and fairly as I have criticised and corrected others. Meanwhile, I confidently expect that both Translation and Commentary will prove useful to the general student; and I venture to say that, in some departments—for instance, the Oriental and the Geographical—it will not be without attractions for the advanced scholar.

VIVE VALEQUE!

APPENDIX.

TABLE I.—Editions of the Works of Camoens ..... Pp. 681-689

,, II.—Tables of Translations ..... ,, 690-697

,, III.—The Contents of The Lusiads (Indicial)... ,, 699-708

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TABLE I.

EDITIONS OF THE WORKS OF CAMOENS.[1]

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
1	...	*	...	...	4to	1572	Antonio Gõçaluez: various readings are found in different copies of same date.
2	...	*	...	...	4to	1572	Antonio Gõçaluez, considered to be the 2nd Edit.[1]
3	...	*	...	...	8vo	1584	Manoel de Lyra, 1st Edit. with notes;[2] very rare; text mutilated; noticed by Aquino (Adam. ii. 265–268).
		•				1586(?)	Surreptitious copy?
4	..	...	...	*	4to	1587	Doubtful: in the 12 *Autos* of Antonio Prestes of Santarem (Adam. ii. 268–9).[3]

[1] This List is taken from Adam. ii. 255 392; Quillinan (pp. ix.–xii.), Jur. (vi. 468–470); and the Centenario de Camões," Catalogue of a Camonean collection S. Miguel, Açores. Dr. Theophilo Braga has also brought out a bibliography of Camoens.

[2] According to Snr. Tito de Noronha (i.), the Edit. Princeps is that of the Author; the Pelican fronting to the right (reader's left): (ii.) the 2nd Edition is the "mutilated" of 1584: (iii.) Between 1584 and 1586 appeared a surreptitious issue, a copy of the first with the same date and printer's name, but with variants and different orthography. He tells us (pp. 37–8) that 8 copies of the Princeps and 13 of the so-called Second Edition are known to exist. The only copy abroad is that of Lord Holland, and the Lisbon Library has none, even of 1584 and 1591.

[3] As Adam. remarks (ii. 268), the fact of notes being added to this Edition contradicts all the biographers who make Manoel Correia the first annotator in 1613. I have already alluded to this "piscous (or fishy) edition."

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
5	...	*	...	...	8vo Small	1591	Manoel de Lyra, Lisbon; reprint of 1584 with some changes.
6	...	...	*	...	4to	1595	Surrupita's Editio Princeps of the "Rhythmas" (Rimas) printed by Estevam Lopez, bookseller, Lisbon.[1]
7	...	*	...	...	4to	1597	Manoel de Lyra, at cost of Estevam Lopez; promises to restore the text, but leaves it like those of 1584 and 1591.
8	...	...	*	...	4to	1598	Pedro Crasbeeck (Adam. ii. 288).
(9)	...	...	*	...	4to	1601	Doubtful, Adam. and Quillinan.
9	...	*	*	...	4to	1607	Pedro Crasbeeck; different wood-cut in title-pages. It was a Part i. of which Part ii. appeared in 1616.
(10, 11)	...	...	*	...	4to	1607	
10	...	*	...	...	4to	1609	Pedro Crasbeeck (Adam. ii. 295).
11	...	*	...	...	4to	1612	Vicente Aluarez (not in Adam. ii. 258–96).
12	...	*	...	...	4to	1613	Pedro Crasbeeck with Commentary of the Licentiate Manoel Correia or Corrêa. In this Edit. appeared the first biography proper of Camoens, in a letter addressed to the "Lovers of Poetry," and signed Pedro de Mariz.
13	...	...	*	...	4to	1614	Vicente Aluarez.
14	...	...	...	*	4to	1615	Do. "Comedia dos Enfatriões; Comedia de Filodemo" and Creaçam do Homem."[2]

[1] Adam. gives a long and careful account of this Edition (ii. 270–86).

[2] The Poem (attributed to Camoens) is supposed to have first

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
15	...	...	*	...	o	1616	Pedro Crasbeeck. This Edition concluded that of 1607 and reprinted the Letter of Pedro de Mariz with Emendations.
(18)	...	*	...	...	32mo	1620	Mentioned by Machado (Adam. and Quillinan).
16	...	...	*	...	4to	1621	Antonio Aluares; a reprint of 1614 (?).
	...	...	*	...	32mo	1623	Lourenço Crasbeeck (Machado, Adam. and Quill.)
17	...	...	*	...	32mo	1626	Pedro Crasbeeck, Adam. and Quill. make this an Edit. of "The Lusiads." See Snr. Tito de Noronha (loc. cit. p. 31).
18	...	...	*	...	32mo	1629	Pedro *Craesbeeck*.
19	...	*	...	...	32mo	1631	Lourenço Crasbeeck.[1]
20	...	...	*	...	32mo	1632	Vol. 2, is that of the preceding Edition. (This Edition and the next are not mentioned in Adam. and Quill.)
21	...	...	*	...	32mo	1632	Lourenço Crasbeeck; the Dedication declares that it is the third printed in small type.
22	...	*	...	...	32mo	1633	Do. (Adam. ii. 312).
23	...	*	...	...	Folio	1639	Juan Sanchez, Madrid; the celebrated Edition annotated by Manoel de Faria y Sousa;[2] (Adam. ii. 313–333).

appeared in the "very curious Edition" of 1616 (Adam. ii. 301). According to Adam. (ii. 300), the two Plays were printed in Roman letter with title-pages for sale apart.

[1] This Edit. lacks the "arguments."

[2] This Commentator says that from the Editio Princeps of 1572 to 1639 one Edition had issued every three years; the calculation would make the total 22.

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
24	...	*	...	...	32mo	1644	Paulo *Craesbeeck*.
25	...	...	*	...	12mo	1645	Pedro Crasbeeck.
26	...	*	...	...	24mo	1651	Do. Do. (Machado).
27	..	*	...	...	24mo	1651	*Craasbeck*. One of the best: in 1651 also "Rimas" (24mo).
28	...	*	...	...	12mo	1663	Lourenço Crasbeeck.
29	...	...	*	...	12mo	1663	Do. Do.
30	...	..	*	...	4to	1666	Antonio Craesbeeck de Mello.
31	...	...	*	—	4to	1668	Do. Do.
32	...	*	...	...	4to	1669	Antonio *Craesbeeck d'Mello*. This Edition, by Barretto, with those of 1666, 1668 and 1669 (The Lusiads) complete the Obras (Works).
(36)	...	...	*	...	4to	1669	Antonio Craesbeeck de Mello (Adam. and Quillinan).
33	*	...	..	...	4to	1669	Do.
34	...	*	*	...	16mo	1670	[1] Do.
(39)	...	...	*	...	16mo	1670	Do. (Quillinan.)
35	...	...	*	...	Folio	1685 to 1689	Theotonio Damaso de Mello; with the Commentaries of (the deceased) Manoel de Faria y Sousa (Adam. ii. 341).
36	..	*	*	...	16mo	1702	Quillinan gives only The Lusiads, by M. L. Ferreyra.
37	*	...	...	...	Folio	1720	Published by Joseph Lopes Ferreyra. This Edition first prints all the *Obras*, and reprints the second biography of Camoens, published in 1624 by Dr. Manoel Severim de Faria of Evora, in his 4to, *Discursos*

[1] Jur. gives one Edit., 12mo, to 1670, containing both The Lusiads and Rimas: Adam. (ii. 340), and Quill. two, the first of The Lusiads, the second of the Rimas.

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
							varios, etc. His nephew, Gaspar de Maria Severim, had also written a Latin eulogium of the Poet, which was translated by the uncle. It has a portrait.
38	...	*	*	...	16mo	1721	Vol. I. Officina Ferreyriana: Quillinan gives 2 Edits., both 12mo; first of The Lusiads, second of the Rimas.
39	...	* ●	...	...	4to	1731–32	Officina Parriniana[1] (Naples) and Officina de Antonio Rossi (Rome); the 4to annotated by Ignacio Garcez Ferreyra: Jur. does not give the date 1732. It has often been reprinted, notably in 1759.
40	...	*	...	...	16mo	1749	Manoel Coelho Amado.
41	*	...	...	...	12mo	1759	Bonardel and Dubeux,[2] Paris.
42	*	...	...	...	12mo	1772	Miguel Rodrigues, Lisbon, 3 Vols.; its errors are almost as numerous as its pages.
43	*	...	...	...	8vo	1779–80	cioiocclxxix. Officina Luisiana, 4 Vols. Jur. says that of 1779 was published by Messieurs Bertrands; and does not give the date 1780.[3]

[1] Adam. (ii. 352) makes Vol. I. of 1731, published by the Officina Parriniana, Naples; and Vol. II. of 1732 from the Officina of Antonio Rossi, Rome.

[2] Good paper: small print, text full of errors, especially in rhymes.

[3] Adam. (ii. 360) gives the Obras of cioiocccxxix. from the Officina Luisiana and p. 364; another Lisbon Edit. of 1779–80. It contains an abridged Life of the Poet by Thomas José de Aquino. This third Luisiana Edit. was republished by Didot, Paris.

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
44	*	...	...	...	8vo	1782–83	Simam Thaddeo Ferreira; Jur. (vi. 468) does not give 1783.
45	...	*	...	...	24mo	1800	Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra; 2 Vols. Adam. (ii. 367) and Quill. make it an 18mo.
46	...	*	...	...	18mo	1805	Typografia Lacerdina, 2 Vols.
	...	*?	...	...	...	1808	J. E. Hetzig (Quill., not in Adam.).
47	*	...	...	...	12mo	1815	P. Didot, sen., Paris; a neat illustrated reprint in 5 Vols., 12mo, of 1782 (1779–80 says Adam. ii. 369). I have used it and found it very useful.
48	...	*	...	...	16mo	18–	Berlin J. E. Hetzig (Jur. not in Adam. nor in Quill.).
49	...	*	...	...	4to	1817	Firmin-Didot, Paris; the famous Edition of the Morgado de Matheus (Adam. ii. 369–75).[1]
50	...	*	...	...	12mo	1818	François Seguin, Avignon, 2 Vols.
51	...	*	...	...	8vo	1819	Firmin-Didot (reprint of 1817).
(57)	...	*	...	...	8vo	1820	S. Smith, Paris (Quillinan).
52	...	*	...	...	18mo	1821	P. C. Dalbin et Cie, Rio de Janeiro (Quillinan makes it a 12mo.).
53	...	*	...	...	18mo	1823[1]	J. P. Aillaud, Paris.[2]
54	...	*	...	...	16mo	1827	First Edit. of M. Rolland (Typografia Rollandiana).
55	...	*	...	...	16mo	1827	Royal Printing House, Lisbon.
56	*	..	...	...	8vo	1834	Hamburg, Langhoff (not Hamburgh, Langhott, Quill.); Edit. of J. V. Barreto Feio and J. G.

[1] Here ends Adam.'s List; but he places the Edit. of 1818 (p. 379) after that of 1819 (p. 376).

[2] Quillinan's list ends here; the following details are from Jur.

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
							Monteiro; 3 Vols.; some copies have, others have not the Frontispiece of 1813.
57	..	*	...	...	24mo	1836	Second Edit. Rollandiana (Quill. 8vo).
58	..	*	...	...	8vo	1836	J. P. Aillaud, Paris.
59	..	*	...	...	8vo	1841	Laemmert, Rio de Janeiro.
60	...	*	...	...	12mo	1842	Third Edit. Rollandiana.
61	...	*	...	...	16mo	1843	Fourth Edit. Rollandiana (Conego Francisco Freire de Carvalho), followed by Mr. Aubertin.
(68)	*	*	...	...	8vo	1843	According to Quillinan, this Edit., brought out in Hamburg by MM. Barreto Feio and Monteiro, was bought by M. Baudry of the Librairie Européenne, Paris, who printed new title-pages advertising the work as printed in Lisbon, and purchaseable at his Paris Establishment. I find no Libraries at Trieste to ascertain the truth of this statement, which is ignored by Jur.
62	....	*	..	...	8vo	1846	José da Fonseca, Paris; well known.
63	....	*	...	...	16mo	1846	Fifth Edit. Rollandiana.
64	....	*	...	...	12mo	1847	Dr. Caetano Lopes de Moura.
65	....	*	...	...	12mo	1849	Rio de Janeiro.
66	....	*	...	...	16mo	1850	Sixth Edit. Rollandiana.
67	*	...	...	...	18mo	1852	Part of the "Bibliotheca Portugueza," edited by Dr. F. I. Pinheiro.
68	....	*	...	...	16mo	1854	Seventh Edit. Rollandiana.
69	....	*	...	...	8vo	1855	Rio de Janeiro.

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Pars.	Obras Works.	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
70	...	*	..	...	8vo	1855	The 1846 Edition of José da Fonseca, provided with a new frontispiece.
71	...	*	.....		8vo	1856	Rio de Janeiro.
72	...	*	.....		16mo	1857	The Eighth Rollandiana.
73	...	*	.....		4to	1857	Nictheroy (The Brazil) with the indication of Paris.
74	..	*	..	...	8vo	1859	The same as that of 1847, with this difference; the former was indicated *Typograf. de Firmin-Didot, Frères, R. Jacob*, 14, *Paris*; this bears Typographia de H. Firmin-Didot, Mesniel (Eure).
75	...	*	.....		16mo	1860	Ninth Edit. Rollandiana.
76	...	*	.....		16mo	1860	Typography of L. C. Cunha.
77	*	...	.....		8vo	1860	Juromenha's Edition begun.
78	...	*	.....		16mo	1863	Tenth Edit. Rollandiana.
79	...	*	.....		8vo	1863	"Selecta Camoniana" by Snr. A. J. Viale.
80	...	*	..	...	16mo	1865	Eleventh Edit. Rollandiana.
81	...	*	...	..	12mo	1865	Paulino de Souza.
82	...	*	.....		16mo	1868	Twelfth Edit. Roll.
83	...	*	.....		16mo	1868	Typography J. C. Cunha.[1]
(90)							
							The following are the Episodes.
84	...	...	.....		16mo	1835	Isle of Venus; Typography of.
(91)							J. N. Esteves.
85	. .	...	.....		16mo	1835	Adamastor; by do.
86	...	...	.....		4to	1862	Ignez de Castro, a neat polyglott Edition, by the Imprensa Nacional (National Printing Office) in Portuguese, Spanish,

[1] Here Jur. ends.

Jur.'s Numbers. Mine in Pars.	Obras (Works).	Lusiads.	Rimas.	Comedias.	Format.	Dates.	Editors' and Printers' Names: Remarks.
							Italian, French, English, and German.[1]
87 (94)	..	...	...	...	4to	1865	Ignez de Castro and Adamastor; with a metrical translation in verse by F. A. D. Escodeca de Boisse: Neat Edition of the Imprensa Nacional.
							Editions of which little is known (Jur. vi. 469).
88 (95)	...	...	*	...	...	1601	Quoted by Manoel de Faria y Sousa.
89	...	*		...	...	1607	Do. by Barbosa Machado.
90	...	...	*	...	...	1608	Do. Faria y Sousa who calls it the Seventh.
91	...	...	*	...	...	1611	Do. do. Eighth.
92	...	*	..	...	...	1620	Do. Barbosa Machado.
93	...	*	...	...	4to	16...(?)	Do. Juromenha, Obras, Vol. v.
94	...	*	...	...	4to	16...(?)	Edition in the hands of Snr. Innocencio Francisco da Silva; described in Jur. (vi. 469).
95	...	*	...	...	4to	16...(?)	Do.
96	...	*	...	...	4to	16...(?)	Do.
97	...	*	...	...	32mo	18...(?)	Diamond type; ordinary blue paper. Snr. Innocencio has a sheet containing the Stanzas between Cantos iii. 96, and iv. 25. The Bibliotheca Nacional has another containing the Stanzas as far as Canto v. 91.

[1] I have remarked that Adam. in 1820 began this style of Specimens.

TABLE II.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE WORKS (ESPECIALLY THE LUSIADS) OF CAMOENS,

(Adam. Vol. ii.; Jur. Vols. i. and vi.).

(*The Names in Capitals denote more than one Edition.*)

Number.	Languages.	Translators.	Dates.	Remarks.
1	Hebrew	Luzetto (Moisés Chaim).	17...(?)	MS. Mickle (cxxv.) Jur. i. 211 and F. Delstrich.
1	Greek	Timotheo L. Verdier.	18...(?)	MS. missing.
7	Latin [1]	A. Bayão.	15...(?)	Ditto.
		Anonymous.	15.. (?)	MS. quoted by P. Mariz and Editor of Lusiads, 1609. Ant. Mendes of Adam. ?
		D. Fr. Thomas de Faria.	1622	Bishop of Targa, in Africa.
		Fr. F. de S. A. de Macedo.	16...(?)	MS. copies exist.
		M. de Oliveira.	17...(?)	MS. of Canto VII.
		F. J. da Gama.	17...(?)	
		A. de C. Lopes.	18...(?)	Fragment, by a Brazilian.
9	Spanish	Benito Caldera.	1580	
		Luys Gomez de Tapia.	1580	Small 4to, Adam ii. 110–118.
		H. Garces.	1591	Ditto 118–128.
		Francisco de Aguilar.	15...(?)	Lost? Quoted by Manoel de Faria y Sousa.
		M. C. Montenegro.	16...(?)	MS.: According to M. de Faria y Sousa the fourth.

		Lamberto Gil.	1818	Also translated Select "Rimas."
		E. Bravo.	1800	Two Cantos.
		F. Escossura.	18...(?)	Episode of Adamastor in the Album of Mdme. Casal Ribeiro.
		D. Fred. Peres de Molina.	13...(?)	MS. "Obras de Camões."
24	French	Anonymous.	15...(?)	
		Anonymous.	16(12)?	Quoted by Verdier. Adrien Boillet also mentions an anonymous French translator in 1612.
		Mdlle. M. M.	1733	Episode of Ignez de Castro.
		L. A. DUPERRON de CASTERA.[2]	1735	Second Edit. in 1768.
		Sulpice Gaubier de Barrault.[3]	1772	Ignez and Adamastor Episodes.
		LA HARPE.	1776	The well-known critic was assisted by D'Hermilly (La Lusiade traduite par &c.). 2 vols., 8vo, Paris, 1776; 2nd Edit., 2 vols., 12mo, Paris, 1813.[4]

[1] According to Mr. Duff (p. 460) Senhor Viale has finished a Latin hexameter version of The Lusiads for the Centenary Festival.

[2] Of Castera De Bure (Bibliographie) says *Traduction assez estimée.*

[3] He was Town-Major at Lisbon; he translated line for line, and he was much praised by Thomas Joseph d'Aquino (Introduction to the Didot or Paris Edit. of MDCCCXV., which reprints the Third Luisiana Edit. of 1779 80), quoting the Stanza (v. 56) beginning :—

Ah! je ne puis conter sans honte et sans regrets,
Que croiant embrasser la beauté que j'aimois, &c.

[4] This often-quoted work is not noticed by Jur.'s Tables. It is considered the third French translation in prose, and derived from a literal version of the Portuguese.

Number.	Languages.	Translators.	Dates.	Remarks.
		J. P. Claris de Florian.	17...(?)	Ignez Episode.
		Voyages imaginaires.	17...(?)	Fragments : published Amsterdam.
		Carrion-Nisas (Marquis of)		Fragments.
		Duke of Palmella.	1813	To Canto vi. ; part still in MS.
		Quetelet.	1822	Episodes of Ignez de Castro, of Adamastor, and of the Battle of Ourique ; published in the *Leçons de Littérature*, Ghent.
		Cournaud.	1817	Description of the Isle of Venus, and some fragments.
		I. B. MILLIÉ.	1825	French prose and very unfaithful : the 2nd Edit. was revised, corrected, and annotated by M. Dubeux, 1862 : that of Lamarre may be said to be the third (1879).
		B. Barrère.	1828	Some pieces founded upon Lord Strangford's version : the author was the famous Terrorist Bertrand Barrère, Brussels.
		Ortaire, Fournier and Descoules.	1841	With some lyric pieces translated by Ferd. Denis. A correct version.
		FR. RAGON.	1842	In verse : 2nd Edit. in 1850.
		M. Ch. Aubert.	1844	In verse ; dedicated to the late M. Villemain.
		E. Boulaud.	18...(?)	MS. ; in verse.
		Desorgues.	18 ..(?)	Translation, or imitation, of part of Canto x. : *Les Fêtes du Génie.*

		J. Esménard.	1805	Imitation of the Episode of Adamastor; in *La Navigation*.
		Victor Perrodil.	1835	Cantos i. and x. in Ottava Rima.
		Emile Albert.	1859	Quoted in Brunet's last Edition (before 1870).
		J. A. D. Escodeca de Boisse.	1865	Episodes of Ignez de Castro and Adamastor.
		Fernand d'Azevedo.	1870	All The Lusiads.[1]
		Clovis Lamarre.	1879	Prose version (Millié revised), with biographical, historical, and literary studies, notes, &c. 1 vol. 8vo., Didier, Paris.[2]
12	Italian	Anonymous.	15...(?)	Quoted in the Epitaph of Martim Gonçalves da Camara, by the Editor of The Lusiads in 1609; and by Pedro Mariz.
		Anonymous.	15...(?)	Quoted by Frei Bernado de Brito who died in 1617.
		Anonymous.	16...(?)	Quoted by M. de F. y Sousa; probably published in 1632, when the Commendator was in Rome.
		Carlo Antonio PAGGI.	1658	Printed at Lisbon, 2nd Edit. 1659.

[1] Les Lusiades de Camoens, traduction nouvelle, annotée et accompagnée du texte Portugais, et précédée d'une esquisse biographique sur Camoens. Paris: Librairie de Veuve J. P. Aillaud et Cie., 47, Rue Saint-André des Arts 17. It is one of the most correct known to me. The author is a Brazilian not a Frenchman.

[2] This Edition has many faults and some merits. The "Life" is one series of blunders. Camoens loses his mother when a child (p. 3) and his eye at Ceuta (p. 14); and D. Antonio stands for Antam de Noronha (p. 29). The *Notice sur les Lusiades* has nothing new. The *Aperçu de l'Histoire* is a copy in a continuous form of Millié's and Dubeux's scattered historical notes; in no case have original documents been examined; all is second-hand, and nothing is to be trusted.

Number.	Languages.	Translators.	Dates.	Remarks.
		Anonymous.	1772	Adam. ii. 146–157.
		M. A. Gazzano.	1772	Erroneously attributed to Count Lauriani.
		Count B. Robbio di S. Rafaelle.	1772	Canto i. "The Lusiads."
		Anonymous.	1804	Published in a "collection of the best Poets" in prose; Roma, Vol. xix.
		Antonio NERVI.	1814	Reached a 5th Edition (before 1869). Now a classic. Good poetry; poor translation.
		A. Bricolani.	1826	The Lusiads.
		L. Carrer.	1850	Part of The Lusiads, including the Episode of Ignez; published in a Venetian newspaper: Octave rhyme.
		A. Galeano Ravara.	1853	Episode of Ignez; published in the *Album Italo-Portuguez*.
		F. Bellotti.	1862	Cav. Cristoforo Negri mentions two, Bertolotti and Bellotti; both mediocre and unpoetic; but the second better than the first.
		Adriano Bonaretti.	1880	Livorno: Vannini; notes.
	English.	R. Fanshaw.	1655	All before noticed.
		W. J. Mickle.	1776	
		Lord Strangford.	1803	
		F. Hemans.	1819	
		Cockle.	1818	

		Hayley.	1818	
		T. Musgrave.	1826	
		Sir T. L. Mitchell.	1854	Before noticed.
		E. Quillinan.	1853	
		Harris.	1814	
		R. F. Burton.	1867	Canto i. and Sketch of Poet's Life in Anglo-Brazilian Times.
		Ditto	1869	Stanzas translated for Hon. Henry Stanley's Lendas da India.
		J. J. Aubertin.	1878	Translation of The Lusiads.
		J. E. Hewett.	1879	Ditto.
		R. F. Duff.	1879	Ditto.
		R. F. Burton.	1880	Ditto.
				I am informed that the late Conde de Bomfim translated part or whole of The Lusiads into English; but the MS. was not printed.
13	German.	J. N. Meinhardt.	1762	Episodes of Ignez and of Adamastor.
		Baron de Seckendorf.	1782	Canto i.
		Dr. C. C. Heise.	1806	Published according to Wolf in 1806-7; *Ottava rima*, 2 Vols. 12mo.
		F. A. Kuhn and C. T. Winkler (alias Theodor Hell).	1807	Adam. ii. 206-14.
		Anonymous.	1808	Canto i. Adam. ii. 221.
		A. W. Schleger.	18...(?)	Episode of Canto ix.; doubtful whether it was printed.

Number.	Languages.	Translators.	Dates.	Remarks.
		J. W. C. Müller.	18...(?)	MS.; a copy supposed to have been in the Library of Jacinto da Silva Mengo.
		J. J. C. DONNER.[1]	1833	First Edit. Stuttgardt; Roman character, "Die Lusiaden des Luis de Camoens."
		L. von Arentschildt.	1852	284 Sonnets: Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1852.
		Wilhelm Storck.[2]	1854	Sonnets.)
		F. Booch-Arkossy.	1852	Jur. vi. 475.
		Storck and Schlütter	1867	Idyls.
		Storck.	1874	Canzons.
2	Dutch	L. S. Pieterszoon.	1777	Based upon La Harpe's.
		W. Bilderdyk.	1808	Episode of Ignez, Jur. vi. 475.
1	Polish.	Przybylski.	1790	Published at Cracow.
1	Bohemian.	Bog-Peckla.	1836	Ditto Prague. In the Casopio Coskcho Museum (Journal of the Museum) of Bohemia, Jur. vi. 475.
1	Hungarian.	Greguss Gyula.	1865	Published The Lusiads at Pesth.
2	Danish.	H. V. Lyndbye	1828	The Lusiads: Copenhagen.
,,		Guldberg.	18...(?)	Jur. vi. 475.
2	Swedish.	C. J. Lanstrom.	1838	Canto i.
,,		Nils Loven.	1839	The Lusiads: Stockholm.
2	Russian.	A. Dmitrief.	.. (?)	Based upon La Harpe's.
		Merzliakoff.[3]	1833	Episode of Ignez and other fragments.

[1] Called by Germans the *Meisterhafte Uebersetzung*. The translator was a Tübingen Professor, his three first Cantos appeared in 1827–30; The Lusiads complete in 1833; and the 3rd Edit. in 1869.

[2] Dr. Wilhelm Storck of Münster University published his version of the Sonnets in 1852 (Leipzig, Brockhaus); of the Idylls, assisted by Schlütter in 1867 (Münster, Adolph Russell); of the Canzons in 1874 (Paderborn: F. Schöningh), and of the Elegies, Sestines, Odes and Octaves in 1881.

[3] The names of these translators are taken from Jur. vi. 475, which is full of errors. The "Camonean" Commentators are legionary. The notablest are Racine (1747), Dr. Johnson (1760), Twiss (1775), Rapin; Hugo Blair (1783), Voltaire (1785–89), Bouterwek (General Hist. of Poetry 1801–1819), Dr. John Black (1810), Mad. de Staël (Biography of Michaud, 1811), Sismondi (1813, translated by H. Hallam, 1839), Hayley (1818), Southey (1822), the Schlegels (A. W. and Fr., 1828), Ticknor (1849), Alexandre Dumas (1860), and Lacroix (1866); besides notices by Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Philarète Chasles, and a host of others.

TABLE III.

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THE REVIEWER REVIEWED:

A POSTSCRIPT.

By ISABEL BURTON.

O wad some power the giftie gi'e us
To see oursels as others see us,
It wad frae monie a blunder free us.—BURNS.

I AM not one of those women who, when a thing turns out contrary to a friend's wishes, delight in saying, "*There!* I told you so." But, as I already remarked in a preface (which my friends have from the four quarters of the globe called "defiant" and "cock-a-doodle-doo"), I have frequently warned my husband for the past twenty years, that his Lusiads would be less popular than "common translations," albeit worth them all put together.

The two reviews which have distinguished themselves the most for personal spite, ignorance, and pretension, I heartily forgive for the sake of the amusement they have afforded us, and the study of the ugly side of human nature. Portuguese students, and deeply-read men and women, form "the ten" who will understand the work, and make it, as I predicted, a gem of their library. I have now to congratulate the Disciple upon a new and notable point of resemblance to his Master. The Lusiads has ever been, and still is, subject to the extremes of praise and dispraise; even our silly English reviews show this. The same is, and will be the case, with my husband's Lusiads. This version, indeed,

seems to be becoming a test, a "Shibboleth" on a large scale, dividing reviewers and critics into two camps, gentle and simple. The Gileadite still delights in the master-poems of Shakespearian England, with their glorious sentiments, set in noble and beautiful poetry. The Ephraimite feels hurt at such barefaced allusions to bygone and old-world things like Romance, Loyalty, Honour, Patriotism.

Captain Burton has certainly been made, and not for the first time, to see himself through the eyes of others. I now reverse the process,—somewhat a rare proceeding in later days. The Reviewer, like the Preacher, may always expect to have the last word. Purely literary journals rarely father an author's protest, however vilely he may have been reviled, and their reasons are of the best; for, if they once admitted demurrers to the judgments too often now delivered, their papers would contain nothing else. This time, I, the Editor, mean to have the last word; the Pew shall answer the Pulpit. For *myself*, I have only to thank the press for too much kindness and leniency, but I must take up the cudgels for the book I have edited, and declare honestly what I think about it.

They say all is fair in love and war, and the present age seems to add—in reviewing. "Oh, that mine enemy would write a book!" cries every little dabbler in pen and ink, "that I may pelt him with dead cats and rotten eggs, like an M.P. candidate, or Aunt Sally,—that I may pot him safely from behind a hedge, like a Home-ruler, and quite as safely under the protection of my anonym." How *could* Miss Frances Power Cobbe, in her admirable speech against Vivisection last May, assert "that nowadays nobody will even write a review cutting up an author with the same amount of bitterness that they did in the last generation"?

But, before criticising criticism, let me briefly state *what* I claim for my husband's translation, and quietly talk over the subject with our readers. I say that it is the *only* scholarlike and complete "Lusiads," giving the double arguments, and printing the Rejected Stanzas with the original *in verso*. It not only translates, where possible, verbatim;—many have done that. It not only echoes, when feasible, the music of the mellifluous Portuguese;—any workman with a good ear would find this easy. But it is unique in preserving the *mécanique* and the *tone* of the original. By the "*mécanique*" I mean Camoens' peculiarities of vocabulary, grammar, syntax, and rhetoric, as noticed in the Commentary (i. chap. 2), and in a letter to the "Academy" (Jan 31, 1881). Some people seem to imagine, and some writers have most erroneously asserted, that a poet who died thirty-six years before Shakespeare was born may be read running, and is as intelligible as Swinburne and Tennyson. This is all very well for those who have seen only the modernised reprints. In form Camoens is archaic as Chaucer—I cannot read Chaucer without a glossary. His various readings and disputed meanings are more numerous than those of Shakespeare. There can be no greater mistake than to declare that "antiquated and uncommon terms of expression must be avoided (by Camonian translators), for the language of Camoens is always eloquent and modern."[1] It is modern only in the sense that moderns have *copied* it. The measure of difference may be obtained by comparing it with Dom Jayme (Thomaz Ribiero). The spirit of Camoens' style is *contrast*, especially the contrast of eloquent and modern with harsh and ancient. He

[1] The translator of Bouterwek's "History of Portuguese Literature," quoted by the *Saturday Review* in a critique which will presently be noticed.

delights in placing side by side the softest, clearest, directest passages, with the artificial, the inverted, the contorted. Compare, for instance, the terribly involved stanzas, Canto viii., St. 65, 6, and Canto ix. 90, with the limpid simplicity of those that follow and precede them.

I confess, when I read some parts of the Lusiads in Portuguese, I could not see a possibility of their being rendered in English; and, reading the various translations line by line, word by word, I saw that my husband had gallantly cleared the fence when the others had scrambled through a side hole. I challenge any one of you reviewers to read one of the difficult stanzas with me in Portuguese, and prove the contrary. My husband would have found nothing easier than to turn Camoens into smooth and flowing English verse, following at some distance Dryden and Pope. But he, and HE ONLY, has done more. He knew too well how his conscientious rendering would expose him to the dislike of the half-read reader; to

The Critics' buffet and Reviewers' spite;

and, what I especially cannot stand, the bad language of that lower sort of literary tinkers, who tinker badly after failures in pot-making. These men are fit only for light railway-literature: their brains are not formed for any profound study, and yet they must, forsooth, earn their dishonest penny by criticising works of which they know less than nothing. But Captain Burton resolved to endure all, and to copy the shades as well as the lights of the picture. So Burns, in "The Castle of Montgomerie," requested his friend to "note the irregularity of the rhymes," the object being to reproduce the effect of similar imperfections in the old verses of "Gala Water."

By "*tone*" I mean the *spirit* of a translation. It

struck me forcibly how much of the translator and how little of the original there is in translations generally, when I compared the "Night-scene" of the Lusiads (vi. 38–43) in three several versions read side by side with the original Portuguese. They seemed to be treating each one of different things—and why? Lord Strangford is soft and quiet and gentlemanly; Mr. Aubertin is simple, popular, and somewhat formal, a stiffness arising from being conscientiously literal. Captain Burton, by virtue of sympathy and perhaps similarity of career, seems to have raised the spirit of Camoens himself. He is too old an author not to know how offensive would be such a tone even to the well-read Reviewer of the "pragmatic-peasant" type. It seems to me like introducing a radical reformer, a "man for a' that," a young wrangler selfish and self-assertive, and utterly wanting in "Reverence—that Angel of the World," into an old feudal Hall full of high-born dames and gallant knights. Such men, to use a popular term, feel "ryled"; they are not at home; they read with jaundiced eyes; they hate the book, and therefore they abuse the writer.

I will illustrate this position by taking certain specimens of the "North Briton" Press.

My first shall be the *Scotsman* (21st Feb., 1881) whose "perfervid genius" boils with a heat that gave me a hearty laugh. How unlike a gallant Highlander! He abhors the "rotten carcase of chivalry"; he pronounces the Lusiads "very prolix, and often exceedingly dull, the epithets tiresome, and the machinery cumbrous." Why, of course, it was to him, poor man. Every line of his writing gave one the dimensions of his literary education; and the *Saturday* did the same. He began well in the true three-cornered Snarly-Yow style. He is ignorant of the difference between poetic and prosaic diction, which, in Italian for instance, forms almost two

languages, and which in our Elizabethan English is most distinctly marked. So he accuses my husband of having produced clumsy lines, *novel* words (alas !), involved metaphors, and intricate versification. He grudgingly grants that "*some* of the words linger in our language in the antique phraseology of Spenser," but he sickens at the idea of reviving these beautiful and unhacknied terms. To him they are like "high English" to a Sierra Leone negro. He is, however, not above the meanest art of a reviewer; quoting a cunningly detached line or two by way of specimen. In all our classical poets there are verses, couplets, and even stanzas, which, read alone, would be pronounced bald, or bad; in the poetic bouquet they play a special part; some for change, others for contrast, and so forth. It is easy to pick holes even in the Iliad: it is not so easy to judge of a poem as a whole, *especially* when one belongs to what Milton calls the "severe gnostics with little reading and less meditating." The *Scotsman* has not read the book, or, if he has, he has not understood it. It cannot be read in an hour's railway journey. It requires study. He does not seem to know that (temp. Elisæ) "Portugale" was used for Portugal, and "Portingall" for Portuguese, and that the "versatile translator" was perfectly correct. Has he never heard of a "Portingall Captain"? He begs "my pardon for hinting that there is a slight confession of literary weakness on the part of my husband in retaining the foreign (?) word Moyses, to express Moses." Oh! why will not literary gentlemen, who write with ease, condescend to read a little more before they vivisect a master of his craft? The "foreign term Moyses" is found in the "Sompnoures Tale" (vv. 177, 8):—

> Loe, Moyses forty days and forty nights
> Fasted.

And how can that Scotsman be ignorant that "Moises" is still a family name in England? He writes upon the principle of Dr. Fell's over-candid enemy. He says, "Capt. Burton is no poet, and his translation is nearly the most unendurable we ever saw." Doubtless to his "untutored ears," as he very properly calls those organs, "the bass of the husband and the soprano of the wife singing the praises of this book" must be the reverse of what he terms "charming." He goes on to say, "Mrs. Burton evidently feels that it is throwing pearls before swine to present to an *uncultivated* world so exquisite a production." Why did he recall to my mind a bit of doggrel, with which, as a boy, Capt. Burton answered one of his first reviewers, and which, after more than thirty years, seems so appropriate. It must out:—

> Perpend what curious fate be mine,
> How queer be Fortune's rigs,
> That set my sweets before the swine,
> My pearls before the pigs!

Chaucer would have said to this boiling, bilious "Persone":—

> For Goddis love go take some laxatyf . . .
> Of lauriol, century, and fumytere,
> Or elles of elder bery.

I find a taint of similar tone in another "North Briton," the *Manchester Examiner* (Jan. 17, 1881). There are Shakespearean scholars in Portugal: cannot Lancashire's capital produce a writer who has studied Camoens in Portuguese? The *Examiner's* reviewer was extra unfit for his task. Instead of giving specimens of "spirited and excellent stanzas," he has chosen two of moderate value, and wastes his space, time, and ink on the smallest of small verbal criticism, ever stumbling over his stumbling-block, the vocabulary; but *that* is

more manly than covering his ignorance by pages of abuse of the author. He does not like "Englished," which he fancies is emphatic; he carps at capitals—having never read of *emphatic* capitals. He weeps over Captain Burton's "disrespect for syllables"; did he never hear Swinburne say, concerning elision, that it is a "necessity, not a luxury of English verse"? Does he not know that the whole course of "our Danes' tongue," from the full, slow, and equable pronunciation of Chaucer and Spenser, has been to abbreviate? He finds fault with the line—

For mind's Art-igno'rant aye look down on Art.

What of Chaucer's

Myn Englissh eeke is in-suf-fi-ci-ent.

And if the reviewer ever owns his ignorance, does he *pronounce* it his ig-no-rance?

As regards the apostrophe indicating contraction without omitting the letters, Captain Burton dislikes the *look* of mutilated words like "mem'ry" and "el'quent." Perhaps he would do better to omit the sign of elision, and leave the articulation to the reader.

I am half a Lancashire woman (on the mother's side), and I know that Manchester is nothing in art if she be not musical, hence the *Examiner* gives a quotation from Schumann, instead of from the Lusiads. I want to know how the three stanzas of Burton's own composition (Cantos v. 12 a; x. 38 a, and 75 a) can be termed *interpolated*, since they are expressly railed off from the poem by a foot-line?

When he complains that "Captain Burton does not write the English of to-day, nor apparently the English which was either written or spoken at any given period (!)

of history," he unconsciously and unwittingly repeats the very words that the Portuguese critics used regarding Camoens in his day. His verbal remarks show half-reading, or ignorance, or both.

Did he never find "belle" in Chaucer and Spenser? When making "kraal" a modernism, did he not know that the Portuguese word "curral" (an inclosure for cattle) was adopted by us from the Cape Hollanders, who have used it for centuries? And by what name shall we call a reviewer who makes "blackmoor" "a "product of the present day"? What! forget even Percy's "Reliques"?—

> And soe in time a blackamore she bred.

Not even read "Paradise Lost"—

> The realm of Bocchus to the Blackmoor sea?

Fie, for shame!

Was I right or wrong when I said Burton's Lusiads was "too æsthetic for the British public"? In sixty years it will be appreciated. For the last twenty years the public has begun to educate itself—in sixty years it will be educated.

Followed suit the *Liverpool Mercury* (Jan. 25, 1881), in a leader, not a leading article. The Lusiads is here called the Epic of Commerce, whereas commerce is one of its accidents: Chivalry is its very base. But chivalry, I regret, is not, to-day, in favour generally with the practical heads and hands of manufacturing society, except those who are stamped as Nature's gentlemen, of whom I am happy and proud to say I know not a few. Here again we find the "Dr.-Fell-feeling" strongly expressed in a general dislike to the poem. The "Manchester School" cannot love the noble poet-soldier of the Lusiads. Camoens is a religious writer, but not of

the Puritans, and he delights in campaigning, but knows nothing of cotton! Therefore Captain Burton is rebuked for perplexing diction and archaic language; moreover, he is charged with introducing obsolete forms for rhyme-sake, when the absolute reverse is the fact. And yet he would have been justified in so doing if he liked, and in adopting the *rims cars* of the troubadour. The rhyme-word, *as a rule*, must be, or become, remarkable; otherwise we miss one of the charms of rhyme. As regards new words, a writer may coin as many as he pleases, while the reader has a right to consider them barbarous until sanctioned by use, in whose hands are the issues of language.

But enough of my North Britons.' I have, I think, shown that their objections to my husband's translation are wofully feeble, and often mistaken: what would they say if "Fairfax," one of the gems of English translation, were now to appear? At the same time, Burton's gentle, simple, unpretentious readers have all my sympathy, for one cause alone. In the ten Cantos, or 8,816 lines of his translation, he has used (according to Miss C——, 314, of which he admits 270) words or expressions which we do not commonly use in conversation to-day. I anticipated this in every line of my first preface, and studied how to remedy it.

Personally I could scarcely judge, for I had read Spenser's Fairie Queen, and Chaucer, Milton and other books (with a dictionary where needed) which contain all these words. And though I feel sure I speak everything except English very badly, I have had the advantage of studying several foreign languages; the words therefore come to me almost naturally. All our oldest English words derived from Latin, Scandinavian, Norman-French, or Saxon-German, were used in Camoens' time, and are found in all the poet-authors of the Elizabethan

age. Why should my husband, then, not also use them to translate a poet of that day, although he will have a narrower public? The reader *may* find it hard—the critic dare not say it is *wrong*, without showing he knows nothing of his art.

I chose the following method of getting at these words. I asked a Miss C——, an acquaintance, to read the two volumes through carefully, and to underline every word she did not perfectly understand. I have thus collected and arranged them as an alphabetic glossary, with their meaning and origin, which will enable every school-child to read the Lusiads, and be of an advantage to it. I chose Miss C—— because she is an intelligent middle-aged English gentlewoman, of the middling classes, having had a very excellent average education, with a refined taste for reading, yet not very deeply read: she does not know a word of any language but her own. She was therefore the fairest specimen—like practising the middle notes of the voice, they are sure to extend themselves both sides of the solfeggio.

When I showed the list to my husband he said, "Good gracious! for the first time in my life I see why I am not understood! You surely will not insult the public by explaining such or such a common word"? He makes the mistake of thinking that everybody is as well educated as himself, and of talking or writing accordingly; whilst I, who began my real education after I was married, think everybody far better educated than I am, and am always trying to work up to the present day.

I feel neither shocked, nor astonished, nor disappointed when we do not please, because I have always felt that we are not like other people. I live in the old feudal times and cannot merge into the present age. Captain Burton, with the same sentiments, belongs in advancement to the next century, and will not be

appreciated or understood in this. Therefore, when anything goes wrong, I feel sad and resigned, and only blame the fact that we are living *now*,—not the world—though I do regret the grand old courtesy of departed ages ; and, if anything is right or a success, I feel a glad surprise, and thankfulness that something has happened in its right place.

From North Britain to New York the physical distance is great ; the spiritual and moral, small. We find a very narrow interval between the North American and our provincial press, especially in the matter of high criticism. The United States devote more than a quarter of their public expenditure to educational purposes ; or, more exactly, they tell me, 257 per 1,000 to 34 in England and 15 in Egypt. Hence the general diffusion of letters, so general indeed, that the flood can hardly be deep. Cousin Jonathan is like a boy with a huge piece of bread and a very tiny bit of butter. Of the "little-learning" system much is to be said on both sides : its abuse is evident in the shallow self-sufficiency which takes the deepest offence when new things are placed before it, or when ignorance is brought home to it. The New York *Daily Tribune* (Feb. 20, 1881) echoes the "North Briton" views ; and, as usual, exaggerates them. When reviewing the translation he owns his ignorance of the original in these words : "The Portuguese of Camoens, however mannered, cannot surely be as mannered as the English of Captain Burton." He then declares "Captain Burton is a linguist : he knows a great many languages and dialects, but English is not amongst the number."

I should have thought that Americans at least, who use so many expressions which are now obsolete and provincial at home, so that we often hardly understand them, but which are nevertheless good sound Puritan

terms, would have welcomed archaisms as a reminiscence of the old home. But I remember that,

Born a goddess, dulness never dies.

Between the *Scotsman* and the *New York Tribune*, I must not forget the *Saturday Review* (May 7, 1881). How well I recognise the velvet paw of my pussy-cat friend who so lovingly chastised my last volume.—A.E.I., both in the "*Saturday*" and by proxy in Paternoster-square. A considerable portion of the critique is composed of characteristic *Saturday* pleasantry,—so light and so playful!—upon the subject of my preface to the Lusiads. Somebody wrote me that the *Saturday* only cares for its sting, and reviews the author when too ignorant to review the book. Pussy and I have often met. She was not competent to write the review, being neither a Portuguese nor a classical scholar, and from a child has had the bad habit of being encouraged to say impertinent things, which she calls "*wit*" but which never gained her a friend's heart. She bitterly complains that *sem pavor* (without fear) is translated *sans peur*. How would she like it?

Perhaps, after all, the *Saturday Review* (like the eccentric benevolents found in novels) means most kindly when its mode and mood appear the harshest. Blake, the painter-poet, said, "Damn blesses—Bless relaxes"; and, while damning with faint praise relaxes most, to over-damn is to bless in superlative form. It is doing the author the best turn to show how little can be said against him by those anxious to say the most. Upon this subject I need write but little. My husband has answered (Commentary, chap. 5) the specific complaints, and it is useless to notice the general charges against poet and translator, from which the tone of the paper takes all weight and trust. As regards the imputation

of inaccuracy, the reader can judge how reckless and ill-advised it is, by comparing the Portuguese and English of the Rejected Stanzas; and the two octaves quoted by Reviewer, iii. 35–36, are all but word for word translations. I have advised my husband to append to his coming Second Edition extracts from critiques *pro* and *con*. The contrast will show the two sides of the proverbial shield, in so bright a light, that the reader will be driven, nolens volens, to judge for himself. And I promise the *Saturday* a conspicuous place, in gratitude for its having abstained from the last indignity,—

> I fain forgive you all the blame,
> I couldn't forgive your praise.

I have now done with the *dispraisers*, whose blame is hardly likely to do damage. Before noticing, however, the directly laudatory, I will devote a few words to notices which are neither warm nor cold. The type of the latter is the *Athenæum* (March 26th, 1881), perhaps the only literary journal in England which is generally read upon the Continent. Its judgment, in this case, is fair but not sympathetic; and, when it calls the work a "fine version" the words do not sound willingly spoken. The reviewer considers the difficult double-rhymes (*e.g.* fear a=Cythera) to be better fitted for Beppo than for the Lusiads. I do not. The poem is one of the least serious of Epics; remarkably like the Morgante Maggiore of Pulci—not of Byron, who struck in it a different note. Camoens not only sings, he also weeps, laughs, "chaffs." Again: "our country reigneth" (*over* being understood) is a form not infrequent in Spenser. "Sort," in the sense of lot, is familiar from the days of Chaucer; and "reduce," in its Latin meaning, to bring back, is perfectly legitimate in poetry.

Like (adj.) for "as" (conj.) was hardly a vulgarism in the days of "Good Queen Bess." Here, however, there is a misprint, and the line should be read :—

Like the Lageian gay,
Delighting [not *delighted*] Anthony with gladde'ning guile (C. vi. 2).

As the Errata-list shows, the proofs were carelessly corrected, the reason being a severe illness, brought on by an accident in Egypt. The Reviewer complains of "involved constructions which necessitate a second and third reading," giving the following example. I print it with the Portuguese :—

Que dos povos de Aurora e do famoso,
Whom, dight Aurora's race and reign to tame,
Nilo, e do Bactro Scythico, e robusto,
Far-famed Nyle and Bactrus' Scythic foe,
A victima trazia e presa rica,
Despoiled, 'spite victorious spoils and rare,
Preso da Egypcia linda, não pudica,
That fair Egyptian not so chaste as fair.

C. ii. 53.

Of course, it means only that Cleopatra conquered Antony, who had conquered the East. But Camoens says so in his own peculiar way, and his translator wisely (I think) preserved the characteristic. There are scores of places in the Master which require half-a-dozen perusals ! and so there are in Shakespeare, in Milton, in all our best poets. Finally, when the *Athenæum* says that the Translator "gratifies the ear, like his Master, Spenser, by abundance of alliteration"—he pays him unwittingly a very high compliment. My husband, while making his version, conscientiously avoided Chaucer and Spenser, for fear of being tempted to imitation. If, therefore, any resemblance to the sweetest of English Poets, the "poets' poet," appear in The Lusiads, it is Burtonian, not Spenserian.

Among the moderates I must number the *Morning Post* (April 16). It is very complimentary; but somewhat in the style of "hunting with the hounds and running with the hare." The only objection is the use of words which the Dictionaries mark *Obs.* But the following passage shows that the reviewer has not recognised the task Capt. Burton proposed to himself:—"It may even be deemed that the Master Poet, could he rise from the repose of three centuries, would counsel his pupil occasionally to forego exactitude in favour of simplicity and sweetness." Burton absolutely declines to be sweet, simple, or poetical, when Camoens is not; he is too loyal to foist his own wares upon the public under the disguise of a translation. He has given Camoens *as he is;* and the result is a new picture, a new style, which must run the gauntlet of praise and blame, and eventually stand upon its own merits. Novelty is not at once forgiven nor accepted: we must give it time to conquer its own place. Burton's next volume, the Sonnets and Lyrics of Camoens, will be continued upon the same plan of absolute fidelity, and as Camoens, in his minor pieces, is always sweet and simple, I venture to prophesy that it will meet with general approval.

I now turn to the most grateful part of my task, to notice those who have praised us. And here, upon the very threshold, is a difficulty. We have received dozens of letters from all quarters of the globe, but they are, of course, private, and therefore sacred. I wish I might quote the highly flattering judgments expressed by the *great* poets of the day, and I hope the public will take my word for it that the terms would surprise the detractors. All these letters, which have comforted and consoled me for much silly abuse, have come from "Makers" whose opinion would lead the world could we publish them. Men of letters are among them,

great poets, Portuguese students and adepts, and classical scholars. The *little* poets snarled with the Press, or declined to give an opinion. The public must be content with the friendly and sympathetic article in *Brief News and Opinion* (January 14th, 1881), with the *Graphic* (March 5th, 1881), evidently written by one who knew his subject thoroughly, and with the *Daily Telegraph* (February 21st, 1881), the latter inspired by an author and a friend, whose marvellous Eastern poem, "The Light of Asia," has reached in the United States a thirty-third edition. To be praised by such a man is to bear the ostrich-feather of Thmei. I have only one counterword to the whole article. Captain Burton's translation was no "tranquil task." Like his Master, the Disciple wrote amid all manner of exciting media. For years he carried about a pocket volume; and, after long thinking over the several stanzas, he pencilled them and copied his version at the end of such journeys as exploring the Camaroons Volcano, sailing up the Congo River; visiting the Kings of Dahomé and Benin; shooting the Cachoeiras, or rapids and cataracts of Brazilian San Francisco; crossing the Andes, and surveying the then unknown and most perilous parts of Eastern Palestine.

One remark in the *Daily Telegraph* has particularly pleased me: "A study of Camoens would be useful in the present day as an antidote to schools of thought which banish both patriotism and romance, as far as they can, into the region of forbidden sentiments." This is *emphatically true;* and hence the Portuguese Epic has been universally recognised as wholesome and tonic reading, in fact, the very reverse of a certain "poisonous honey"; and the general directness of the Camonian style, and the straightforwardness with which the Great Portuguese calls a spade (when he *must* name it) a

spade, is a pleasant contrast to that over-development, or rather abuse of Shelleyism, which in this stage of English versification suggests the "tale full of sound and fury," and of mighty little meaning, though the words seem very strong. The verbiage, at once picturesque, melodious, and beautiful, dazzles the reader out of a clear perception of the sense. But it is the "profligate luxuriance" with which Mr. Henry M. Stanley charges the marvellous jungle of Central Africa. It is a corrupt eloquence, a debauch of language, a minimum of signification, buried in the largest possible words; and the reader, revelling in its melody and harmony, is often tempted to exclaim, "How charming! but what does it all mean?" So far from raising small objections to vocabulary, the *Daily Telegraph* admires the "inexhaustible store of musical and unworn words" that perpetually match the dignity and melody of the Portuguese.

But I must also specify Mr. Oswald Crawfurd (*The Academy*, June 25, 1881). A resident for many years in Portugal; a well-known writer of travels and a student of Camoens, when he delivers judgment it must be respected. And he declares, "No translator can again be expected to combine the qualifications of Captain Burton, who, like Camoens, is himself at once a traveller, a scholar, and, as he now incontestably proves himself to be, a true poet." I shall not enter into further details, but only declare that in the next edition of the Lusiads Mr. Crawfurd's valuable and appreciatory review shall appear side by side with the *Saturday*—the dock-leaf by the nettle.

This is the day of revivals; when the Elizabethan and even older forms of English are once more coming to the front. I can only express a hope that Burton's adoption of these picturesque old terms, and of such charming novices as nitid, inclyt, coolth, blooth, and so

forth, will be welcomed by the younger generation of poets. Our language will thus recover some of its lost Pleiads; and then I shall not have the mortification to contrast one point of French, with our English, criticism. The archaic words and phrases in the late M. Littré's Old-French versions of Homer and Dante were highly approved of by all the authorities across the Channel. Captain Burton has met with ludicrous abuse. Had my husband been born anywhere but in England he would have been the subject of national gratitude and respect. As an Englishman he excites dislike and jealousy for having done and for still doing too much good work.

I have drawn up the following vocabulary of "obsolete words"—to which the dispraiser perpetually recurs—with a special object. Our readers must not be slighted by being charged with ignorance of Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Shakespeare; but some of them will like to see the parentage of the little-used terms. Finally, I would ask, Is there any reasonable objection to any one of the following expressions? Are they ill-sounding or incorrect? Is there anything against them but prejudice? I conclude the list with one of Burton's favourite quotations from Horace, who so strongly recommends the practice of revival,—

> Long-obscurèd words his lore shall kindly illumine,
> Dight to the light once more these specious tokens of objects,
> Which fain usèd of yore by the Cato-tribe and Cethègi,
> Drear old age forlore with long unuse overwhelmeth.

GLOSSARY.

ABASSIA, proper name, Port. (from Arab. *Habesh*) Abyssinia.
ACCOLADE, *n.* ceremony of embrace (when dubbing a knight, etc.).
AFFY, *v.* trust, confide in, make affiance (Chaucer).
AGNISE, *v.* (Lat. *agnoscere*, French, *agniser*) to acknowledge, confess, recognise.
ALGATES, *adv.* nevertheless.
ALTISONOUS, *adj.* Lat. high-sounding.
ALS', or ALS, *adv.* also (alls, Chaucer, Spenser).
AMIDDLE, *prep.* in the middle.
ANENT, *prep.* against, opposite to, concerning.
ANTRE, *n.* (Lat. *antrum*) cave (Shakespeare).
ARBALIST, *n.* (Fr. *arbalète*) a crossbow (arblastere, Chaucer).
ARGUTE, *adv.* Lat. sharp, clever, subtle.
ASPEROUS, *adj.* (Lat. *asper*) sharp, fierce (aspre, rough, Chaucer).
ASTONIED *v.* astonished (astoned, Chaucer; astoinied, Spenser).
ASHLAR, *n.* hewn or cut stone.
ATAMBOR, *n.* a drum; atabal, kettle-drum (tamborji, a drummer, Byron).
ATTONCE, *adv.* at once, once for all (attone, Spenser).

BAN, *v.* and *n.* to curse, summon, decree.
BASH, *v.* to beat.
BASNET, or BACINET, *n.* Fr. light basin-shaped helmet; (basanet, Spenser).
BARDIC, *adj.* of bards.
BASILISCO, BASILISK, *n.* a long cannon.
BATEL, *n.* Anglo-Norman, a little boat.
BALE, *n.* Anglo-Saxon, evil, sorrow, sickness, destruction (Chaucer).
BEDIGHT, *past part.* decked out, adorned. *See* dight.
BEEVE, *n.* a bull or cow.
BEL-ACCOYLE, *n.* Fr. fair and courteous reception (Spenser).
BEL-AMOUR, *n.* Fr. a lover, consort (Spenser).

BELITTLE, *v.* to make little or less.
BELLE-DAME, *n.* Fr. fair lady.
BENEDIGHT, *adj.* (Lat. *benedictus*) blessed.
BIEN, *adj.* Fr. good, fair, brisk, bonny.
BIN, BENE, *v.* old form of be and been (Chaucer).
BLENT, *part.* blended, mixed, mingled (Shakespeare).
BLOOTH, *n.* bloom, blossom.
BOSKY (or BUSKY, Shakespeare), *adj.* busky (from busk, a bush), wooded.
BORE, *n.* a tidal flood.
BOSCAGE, *n.* Fr. thicket, underwood, wood.
BRENT, *past part.* to bren, burn (brente, Chaucer; brunt, Spenser).
BRUIT, *n.* Fr. noise, report, fame.
BUSK, or BUSKE, *v.* (Ital. *buscare*) to seek, make ready, prepare.

CANOROUS, *adj.* (Lat. *canórus*) loud and melodious.
CAREEN, *v.* to expose one side of ship's bottom for repairs.
CARLE, *n.* a rough fellow, a churl (Chaucer and Spenser).
CERTES, *adv.* Fr. certainly, verily, of a truth (Chaucer).
CHAMBER, *n.* a small, breach-loading mortar now used for firing salutes.
CHAMPAIGN, or CAMPAIGN, *n.* Fr. flat, open country (champaine, Chaucer; others, champion: T. Wright).
CHIRURGEON, *n.* Fr. a surgeon.
CLEPE, *v.* to call, name (cleped, clept, yclept, Spenser).
CLEW, *n.* a ball of thread, a guide.
COMPT, or COMPTE, *n.* and *v.* Fr. count, account.
CONCH, *n.* Greek and Lat. a sea-shell (genus Strombus).
CONDIGN, *adj.* (Lat. *condignus*) deserved, merited.
CONGEE, or CONGÉ, *n.* and *v.* Lat. and neo-Lat. bow, leave-taking, salutation.
COUNTRY-CATES, *n.* provisions or food of the country.
COUNTY, *n.* a count, earl, noble (County Paris, Shakespeare).
COUPED, *adj.* (Fr. *coupé*) cut off, in heraldry.
COMPAST, *past part.* compassed, brought about, contrived.
CRAMOISIE, or CRAMOSIN, *adj.* crimson.

CRAPULOUS, *adj.* Lat. and Fr. sick, surfeited; vulg. crapsick.
CRASTINE, *adj.* (Lat. *crastinus*) of to-morrow.
CREPITANT, *part.* Lat. snapping, crackling.
CUSP, *n.* Lat. point of crescent's horn.
CYMAR, *n.* simar or chimere, a light dress, loose robe, a scarf.

DAG-TARGE, *n.* a dagger fixed upon a target or shield.
DEBELL, *v.* Lat. to war down, conquer, debellation, conquest.
DERRING-DO, *n.* daring (to) do; a daring deed (Chaucer; derring-doers, Spenser).
DESPIGHT, or DESPITE, *n.* spite, malice; *a.* despitous, malicious.
DESTRIER, *n.* a war-horse, because led by the right (dexter) hand (destrer, Chaucer; others destrere: T. Wright).
DIAPHANOUS, *adj.* Gr. clear, transparent.
DIGHT, *v.* and *part.* to prepare, ordain, dress, adorn, finish, clothed, arranged, decked.
DIGNE, *adj.* worthy, noble, haughty.
DOUCE, *adj.* Fr. sweet, gentle, agreeable.
DOULOUR, or DOLOR, *n.* grief, pain.
DOUR and DURE, *adj.* sullen, stern (or cross) and hard.
DREE, *v.* to bear, endure, suffer.
DROWSIHED, *n.* drowsiness (droweyhed, Thomson and Spenser).

EAR, *v.* to plough.
EATH, also EATHS, *adj.* and *adv.* easy, easily.
EFTSOONS, EFTSONE, *adv.* soon after; eft, *adv.* afterwards, again (Chaucer).
EKE, *conj.* (German, *auch*) also, likewise (eeke, Spenser).
ELD, EILD, and ELDE, *n.* old age, old people (Chaucer).
EMPERY, *n.* Fr. empire, power.
ESPERANCE, *n.* hope, expectation (esperaunce, Chaucer).
ESTRADO, *n.* Span. raised space in a room.
ESTANDART, *n.* standard, banner, flag.
ETERNE, *adj.* eternal (Chaucer).
EVANISH, *v.* to vanish out of.
EYNE, or EYEN, *n.* eyes (eyhen and eyn, Chaucer).

FACUND, *adj.* Lat. well-speaking, eloquent (facound, Chaucer; others faconde: T. Wright).
FAIRFAXT, *adj.* Lat. fair-haired, hence the house of Fairfax.
FAND, *pret.* and *past part.* found, discovered (Chaucer).
FARE, *v.* (German, *Fahren*) to go, travel; to live (eat); to be in a state (good or bad); to behave, to happen (well or ill); hence fareth and fared.
FASH, *v.* (Fr. *fâcher*) to vex, trouble, annoy.
FAULCHION *n.* (Lat. *falx*) a chopper, a heavy sickle-shaped sword.
FECKLESS, *adj.* (effectless?), no feck, strength; weak, worthless.
FELL, *adj.* keen, cruel, barbarous, felon (felle, Chaucer).
FELTRED, *past part.* tangled, twisted (of hair).
FERAL, FERE, FERINE, *adj.* (Lat. *ferus*) fierce, proud, wild, untamed.
FERE, *n.* companion, friend, wife; i-fere or ifeere, together (feere, Spenser; pheere, Chaucer).
FERREOUS, *adj.* (Lat. *ferreus*) of iron.
FONE, *n*, foes, enemies (Chaucer).
FORLORE, *adj.* (German, *verloren*) forlorn; *v.* to desert, to deprive.
FOYSON, or FOISON, *n.* (Spenser) (Lat. *fundere*) plenty, abundance (foisoun, Chaucer).
FRORE, or FRORN, *adj.* (Spenser) (German, *gefroren*) frosty, frozen, frothy.
FULGENT, *adj.* (Lat. *fulgens*) shining, glittering.
FULGOR, *n.* Lat. dazzling, brightness.
FULMINANT, *adj.* (Lat. *fulminans*) thundering.

GALORE, *n.* plenty, abundance.
GAR, *v.* (Iceland, *göra*) to do, cause, make, compel (Spenser).
GELID *adj.* Lat. cold, very cold.
GEST, *n.* (Lat. *gestus*) bearing, demeanour, carriage.
GESTE, or GEST, *n.* (Lat. *gesta*) exploit, achievement (gestes. Spenser, Chaucer).
GLAVE, or GLAIVE, *n.* (Lat. *gladius*) a form of sword.
GLINT, *v.* to glisten, to gleam.
GLOZING, *part.* lying, false, wheedling.

GOUT, *n.* (Lat. *gutta*) a drop.
GRAMARYE, *n.* (Fr. *grimoire*) magic, necromancy.
GRAVID, *adj.* (Lat. *gravidus*) heavy with child.
GREAVES, *n.* (Fr. *grèves*) boots, armour for lower legs, especially the shins.
GRIDED, *past part.* (Ital. *gridare*) *n.* and *v.* a grating sound, to cut, pierce, gush. (Grided, Canto vi. 83, is a misprint for griding.)
GUERDON, *n.* (Ger. and Lat. *Wieder-donum*) a reward, recompence (Chaucer).
GYRE, *n.* Gr. and Lat. a circuit, a circle, wheeling motion.

HALE, *v.* to haul, drag, pull back.
HEST, or BEHEST, *n.* Germ. a command, order (heste, or heeste, Chaucer).
HIGHT, or HIGHTE, *v.* to be called (named), to command, to promise (Ismen I hight, I'm called Ismen, Spenser).
HIRSUTE, *adj.* Lat. rough with hair, hairy, coarse.
HODIERNAL, *adj.* Lat. of this day (to-day); of the present day (time), modern.
HOLP, or HOLPE, *v.* he (she or it) helped; holpen, helped.
HURTLING, *part.* whirling, moving violently, hurled; to hurtle, to dash, strike.
HYTHE, or HITHE, *n.* a port, harbour.

IGNAVE, *adj.* Lat. idle, slothful.
IMMANE, *adj.* (Lat. *immanis*) huge, monstrous, atrocious.
IMMUND, *adj.* Lat. impure, unclean.
INCEPT, or INCEPTION, *n.* a beginning, commencement.
INCLYT, *adj.* (Lat. *inclytus*) famous, renowned.
INDIGN, or INDIGNE, *adj.* Lat. unworthy, opposed to digne.
IMP. *v.* Gr. and Lat. to graft, insert (feather), increase, strengthen (Shakespeare).

KELSON, or KEELSON, *n.* inner part of keel in wooden ship.
KINKY, *adj.* twisted, crisply curled, woolly (hair).

KRAAL, *n.* (Port. *curral*) cattle inclosure; a village in South Africa.
LAINE, *n.* Fr. wool, woollen stuff.
LAMBENT, *adj.* Lat. licking, touching lightly.
LEASING, *n.* lying, falsehood.
LEAL, *adj.* loyal.
LERE, or LEER, *adj.* (Germ. *leer*) empty; also, *n.* lore, learning.
LEVEN, or LEVIN, *n.* lightning (Spenser).
LIEF, LIEVE, *adj.* dear, beloved.
LIFT, *n.* (Germ. *luft*) sky, firmament.
LIMN, *v.* to draw, paint, illumine.
LITHER, *adj.* bad, corrupt (Chaucer).
LOADSMAN, *n.* a pilot; lodemenage, pilotage (Chaucer); from the loadstar (leading star) North star.
LOND, *n.* land.
LOSEL, *n.* (Fr. *lozel*) a worthless fellow.
LOUT, *v.* to bend, bow (louting-low, Spenser; loute, Chaucer).
LOWE, or LOW, *n.* fire, flame; lowynge, flaming.

MARGENT, *n.* margin.
MAUGRE, *prep.* (Fr. *malgré*) in spite of, notwithstanding (mawgre, Chaucer).
MEADOW-MATH. *n.* a mowing (of grass); so after-math.
MEINY, or MEINÉ, *n.* a retinue, followers (Chaucer, Spenser).
MELL, *v.* to mix, to meddle (melle, Spenser, Chaucer).
MERE, *n.* a pool or lake (Windermere).
MISWEEN, *v.* to misjudge (Spenser).
MOIL, *n.* and *v.* drudgery, defilement; to labour very hard, soil, defile.
MORION, *n.* hat like helmet with brim, but without vizor.
MOTE, MOT, MOUGHT, *v.* may, might, or must.
MURE, *n.* Lat. and Fr. a wall.
MUREX, *n.* the fish producing a purple dye.

NARD, or SPIKENARD, *n.* an odorous plant used in perfumes.
NATHELESS, or NATHLESS, *adv.* nevertheless.

NEFAND, *adj.* (Lat. *nefandus*) not to be spoken, abominable, nefarious.
NIDE, *n.* (Lat. *nidus*) a nest, a nestful.
NIDERING, or NIDING, *adj.* infamous, dastardly.
NE, *adv.* and *conj.* not, nor, never ("Childe Harold").
NILL, *v.* (ne-will) not to will, to be unwilling, refuse, reject.
NITID, *adj.* (Lat. *nitidus*) clean, clear.

ORCAN, *n.* Fr. a hurricane.
ORC, *n.* (Lat. *orca*) grampus.
ORICHALC, *n.* Gr. and Lat. a mixed metal, brass, etc.
OVANT, *part.* (Lat. *ovans*) triumphant, rejoicing.
OWCHE, or OUCH, *n.* clasp, necklace, brooch; a jewel (ouches, jewels, onyxes, Spenser).

PARDIE, PARDÉ, or PARDIEUX (Fr. *par Dieu!* Chaucer, Spenser).
PARLEY, *v.* Fr. and Ital. to confer, speak with another.
PAVOISE, or PAVISE, *n.* Fr. large shield covering all the body.
PEREGRINE, *adj.* foreign, stranger, striking, in the Chaucerian sense of strange, strangeness.
PIGHT, *part.* pitched, fixed, placed, set (pighte, Fairfax; y-pight, Chaucer).
PILE, *n.* metal head of arrow.
PLAT, *adj.* and *adv.* flat, flatly (aplat, flatly, Chaucer).
POME, *n.* (Lat. *pomum*) an apple, a fruit.
PORTAIL, or PORTAL (Fr. *portail*) small door or gate.
PRORE, *n.* (Lat. *prora*) prow or fore part of a ship.
PUISSANT, *adj.* (Lat. *potens*) powerful.
PURFLED, *past part.* (Fr. *pourfiler*) worked, embroidered (purfiled, Chaucer).

RATH or RATHE, *adj.* early, soon.
RAZZIA, *n.* (Arab. *Gházlych*) a raid, a foray.
REAL! REAL! Port. Royal! Royal! the first words acclaiming a king.
REAVE, *v.* to bereave, rob of.

REDE, *n.* and *v.* counsel; to advise, explain, interpret.
REE, *v.* to sift, explain, ree a riddle.
REFOCILLATE, *v.* (Lat. *refocillare*) refresh by warmth, to revive.
REGIMENT, *n.* government, rule (Spenser, Shakespeare).
RENAY, *v.* (Fr. *renier*) to deny, renounce, refuse (reneye, Chaucer
RORY, RORID, or ROARY, *adj.* (Lat. *ros*) dew, dewy.
ROY, *n.* (Fr. *roi*) a king.
RUTILANT, *adj.* (Lat. *rutilans*) shining, lucent.

SACROSANCT, *adj.* (*sacrosanctus*) sacred, saintly.
SAKER, *n.* a small cannon.
SALVAGE, *n.* and *adj.* a savage.
SANS, *prep.* Fr. (Lat. *sine*) without.
SANS LOYS, SANS FOYS, men without law (loy) and faith (foy) (Spenser).
SAUNDERS, SAUNDARS, or SANDERS, *n.* sandalwood.
SCATHE, or SCATH, *n.* and *v.* harm, waste; to harm (skath, Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Spenser).
SCOT, *n.* tax, fine, shot.
SELD-SEEN, *adj.* seldom seen.
SELLE, or SELL *n.* (Fr. *selle*) a saddle.
SEELY, SELLY, *adj.* (Germ. *selig*) silly, simple, innocent, harmless.
SEMPITERNAL, *adj.* (Lat. *sempiternus*) eternal, without beginning or end.
SHAWM, or SHALM, *n.* (Fr. *chalumeau*) a clarionet, a haut-boy, a reed, pipe.
SHEEN, *n.* and *adj.* brightness, bright-shining.
SHEND, *v.* (Germ. *schänden*) to blame, injure, disgrace, destroy, or harm; *past part.* shent.
SITHENCE, SITH, or SIN, *adv.* since (sith then, since then, Spenser, Chaucer).
SKEYNE, or SKEAN, *n.* (Gael. *sgian*) a long knife or short sword (Spenser).
SMARAGD *n.* (Lat. *smaragdus*) the emerald.
SPERE, or SPEER, *v.* to ask, inquire.
SPINGARD, *n.* (Ital. *spingarda*) a hand-gun.

SPRENT, *past part.* sprinkled.
SPRITE, *n.* spirit, soul, shade, apparition.
STOCCADO, or STOCKADO, *n.* (Fr. *estoc*) a thrust, stab.
STOWRE, STOUR, or STOURE (Fr. *estours*) battle, tumult, trouble.
SUZERAIN, *n.* a sovereign and yet not a sovereign.
SYNE, *n.* time.

TANE, or TA'EN, *past part.* taken (tan, Chaucer).
TARGE, *n.* a target, small shield (Chaucer).
TEEN, *n.* grief, injury (tine, Spenser; teene, Chaucer).
THERIACK, *n.* (Lat. *theriaca*, whence treacle) an antidote.
THOLE, *v.* to bear, endure, suffer; still used in Scotland.
THORPE, or THORP (Germ. *dorf*) a hamlet.
THRID, *n.* and *v.* thread; to thread.
TOFORN, *prep.* before, in front (to-for and to-fore, Chaucer).
TOQUE, *n.* (Lat. *torques*) a neck-chain.
TRAVAIL, *n.* (Fr. *travail*) toil, with pain.
TRINE, *n.* and *adj.* a trio, a triad (of three), threefold, triple.
TROW, *v.* to think, trust, believe.
TYNE, *v.* to lose, to be lost.

UNDIVAGOUS, *adj.* Lat. wandering over the waves.
UNEATH, *adj.* and *adv.* uneasy, unable, scarcely, with difficulty (Fairfax).

VALVARTE, *n.* a bulwark.
VATICINATE *v.* (Lat. *vaticinare*) to foretell.
VAVASOUR, *n.* a vassal or feudal tenant, a baron, etc. (vavaser, Chaucer).
VAYWARD, or VAWARD, *n.* van, vanward, vanguard.
VENERAND, *past part.* venerable.
VERIDIC, VERIDICAL, *adj.* (Lat. *veridicus*; Fr. *véridique*) truth-telling, truthful.
VERT and VENERIE, *n.* green, covert, and chaseable beasts.
VITTAILLE, *n.* victuals (Chaucer).

WAPPEN'D, *adj.* worn out (Shakespeare).
WEEN, *v.* to think, to fancy.
WEET, or WIT, *v.* to know.
WELKIN, *n.* (Germ. *wolke*) sky, vaults of heaven (welken, Chaucer).
WHILERE, *adj.* while ere, ere while, just now.
WASTREL, *n.* a waster, a profligate.
WIS, *v.* to know, to think; *imperf.* and *past part.* wist.
WONE, *v.* and *n.* (Germ. *wohnen*) to dwell; a dwelling, custom, habit (won, Spenser).
WRACK, *v.* and *n.* to wreck or rack; a wreck, a flying cloud.
WRAITH, *n.* an apparition, ghost, spirit.

YARL, *n.* (Iceland, *jarl*) earl.
YARELY, *adv.* adroitly, handily (yare, quick, nimble, Shakespeare).

> Obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque
> Proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
> Quæ priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,
> Nunc citus informis premit et deserta vetustas.
>
> HOR., Epist. ii. 2, 115-18.

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

ABOUT

CAPTAIN BURTON'S LUSIADS OF CAMOENS.

2 Vols. 12mo. 1880.

From the *Daily Telegraph*, February 21, 1881.

CAPTAIN BURTON is well known to Englishmen as a great traveller and linguist, and the author of delightful books bearing on the strange scenes and places which it has been his lot in life to explore or visit. He it was who led, with the adventurous Speke as his second in command, that journey into the Dark Continent which culminated in the discovery of Lake Tanganyika, and his account of wanderings in strange lands has made him a modern Ulysses, while he was the first to undertake the task—perilous enough for any foreigner, above all for one not a Mohammedan—of penetrating in disguise to the sacred shrines of Mecca. In the last exploit no doubt this most enterprising and cosmopolitan of explorers was vastly assisted by his perfect knowledge of Arabic, as, indeed, of most of the languages spoken by civilised men on the face of the globe. The great voyager has just given to the book-reading public an unexpected treat in a translation of the master work of the Portuguese poet Camoens, that stirring epic of war, travel, and adventure, which he called "The Lusiads," after its heroes the Lusitanians, or "brave Portingalls," who set out to find a seaway to India. This noble poem is already known to the English public through the version of William Julius Mickle, a Scottish poet of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, we cannot afford to overlook such a contribution to our literature as Captain Burton's admirable rendering of Portugal's greatest poetical genius, and the two volumes, which deserve to be widely read wherever the English language is spoken, are all the more remarkable from the circumstances under which they came to be written. In his preface Captain Burton has explained the causes which have been powerful enough to make him diverge from his life-

work of travel and adventure to the more tranquil task of translating a literary masterpiece entombed in a little-read Continental language. Camoens, he says, is "the perfection of a traveller's study. A wayfarer and a voyager from his youth; a soldier, somewhat turbulent withal, wounded, and blamed for his wounds; a doughty Sword and yet doughtier Pen, a type of the chivalrous age, a patriot of the purest water, so jealous of his country's good fame that nothing would satisfy him but to see the world bow before her perfections; a genius, the first and foremost of his day, who died in the direst poverty and distress." These are good titles to admiration in any case, and we cannot wonder that a great English traveller, himself too a poet, should have been captivated all these long years, by the charm of that beautiful Portuguese tongue and those noble and stirring sentiments which stand enshrined in Camoens' deathless pages. If it be true that Chapman's "Iliad" is a great work because of the intense love and admiration which its author had for the blind old bard of Greece, then certainly Captain Burton's labour, which has taken up twenty years of a much-occupied life, ought, for the same reason, to be able to stand the test of time, inasmuch as it is the fruit of genuine and heartfelt devotion on the part of the translator to the author and his poetic masterpiece.

Upwards of three hundred years ago Vasco da Gama set sail from Lisbon on his adventurous voyage, which ended in the colonisation of part of the "Morning-land" of India as well as of Mozambique; and since that time the Portuguese have done just what their great poet warned them not to do—they have rested contented with their "puny part of earth." Not untruly did the "great Pilgrim poet of the sea and land," whose work Captain Burton has at length given in a masterly shape to British readers, when he returned from his perilous shipwrecks and travels in the East, remark that he had come back "to die in his country and with his country." Perhaps the worst blot on the scutcheon of Portugal, even at this day, is that she allowed her greatest poetic genius to die a beggar, with a pension of five paltry pounds from King Sebastian, and dependent on the precarious bounty of patrons and friends for his daily bread.

There never was a more pathetic story than that of the life and death of Camoens, and perhaps it was the roving spirit of adventure in him which attracted our modern African explorer to the translator's desk, almost as much as the real beauties of his poem. "My Master, Camoens," Captain Burton calls him, and goes on to pay his tribute of gratitude for the real solace which the much-loved volume has been in many wanderings. "On board raft and canoe, sailing vessel and steamer, on the camel and the mule, under the tent and the jungle-tree, on the fire-peak and the snow-peak," writes the accomplished "Hadji," "Camoens (meaning all the works of the great poet) has been my companion, my consoler, my friend;" and we may remark that a study of Camoens, who is an ideal patriot, as well as a constant lover whose fair one was snatched away by death at the age of twenty, would be useful in the present day as an antidote to schools of thought which

banish both patriotism and romance, as far as they can, into the region of forbidden sentiments. Indeed, so intensely patriotic is the bard that in the opening of his epic he bids Achilles, Alexander, and all other ancient warriors and travellers, cease to "vaunt long voyage made in bygone day," as if the "better bravery" of the Lusitanian explorers fairly threw into the shade all attempts in the same line which had been made before. This may be going a little too far, but, at all events, it is a fault in the right direction.

Captain Burton has rendered a fitting tribute on behalf of England to the great poet of Portugal.

The romantic life story of Camoens is quite as attractive as his poetry, and will always procure readers for the poet whom Captain Burton justly terms the Virgil of Portugal. All English-speaking lovers of a fine poetic achievement must feel grateful to the fortune which has given them a translation equal in its majesty of diction and erudition to Fairfax's Tasso, through the twenty years' labour of love which the great English traveller has expended on his poet-traveller of Portugal.

From the *Graphic*, March 5, 1881.

IN the beginning of 1878 a new translation of the "Lusiads" of Camoens was announced from the pen of Mr. J. J. Aubertin, who had spent many years in Brazil, and had studied this author as his first master in Portuguese; and to this publication the very important feature was attached of its containing the original text, side by side with the English. At the same time it was reported in literary circles that Captain Burton, the well-known traveller, who had for several years occupied the position of Consul at Santos, in Brazil, was also engaged in a translation of the great Epic. Mr. Aubertin's work appeared in due course, and was fully noticed in these columns; nor have we found, on reperusal, any reasons for modifying the high opinion which we then expressed of his performance.

To-day we have before us the promised translation by Captain Burton, which, we can at once say, bears full evidence of having proceeded from the pen of a master. Despite its peculiarities, for which the Preface emphatically prepares us, we have found the style captivating in its character; nor can we fail to express our astonishment, on comparing this work with that of Mr. Aubertin, that two scholars, both evidently comprehending their author thoroughly, rendering him faithfully in text and feeling, and both adopting the same metre—happily that of the original—should have been able to produce two such wholly different translations. We have rarely passed a more entertaining literary morning than in studying these two works together, aided by the timely pages of the original poem furnished in Mr. Aubertin's volumes. The smooth and easy run of the versification in the stanzas of the latter contrasts charmingly with the *power and picturesqueness of Captain*

Burton, who in this work, as in all others that bear his name, has carved out his own independent course. In these two productions we have before us, as it were, two pictures of the same subject by two entirely different masters; as it might be, for example, a picture by Claude and a picture by Salvator Rosa.

We have referred to the peculiarities of Captain Burton's work, and we observe by a letter he has addressed to a contemporary, that he has already been called to account for his "English of the period" and his "perplexing diction." Against these charges, which he was, of course, quite prepared for, and which may doubtless avail with many readers, he defends himself with much force. He calls attention to what he terms "the linguistic medley of the original," and enumerates the various figures in which Camoens indulges in the "Lusiads," which he considers it was essential to regard. Among these the hyperbaton is (as Captain Burton says) "excessive." This figure, indeed, we find very frequent in Mr. Aubertin's translation, though as regards the others, he would seem (if he indeed acknowledged them) to have carefully smoothed them over, for the sake of his lines. But without the hyperbaton, at all events, Camoens would not be Camoens, and abundant classical grace and dignity are very often produced by the use of it.

In the Sonnets, Captain Burton tells us, scarcely any of the figures above referred to are found; and we await with interest the appearance of these compositions of the "Portuguese Petrarch" in our English language. The whole of the "Rimas" are already promised by Burton, and an anthology of "Seventy Sonnets," accompanied by the original text, is on the eve of publication by Aubertin. A dissertation on the whole subject, in two volumes, by Burton, is also already in the press. We wish these two gentlemen as much success in their coming translations as we have felt able to accord to them in their past; and if such be the issue, surely they will have jointly contributed, as none before have done, to make the name and the works of Luiz de Camoens known and appreciated in English literature.

From the *Athenæum*, March 26, 1881.

CAPT. BURTON has devoted the leisure moments of almost twenty years to an English version of this great voyager-epic; and his command of his own language gives him many facilities for imparting to his pages something of that Eastern perfume which the Lusitanians exhale, and for causing them to re-echo the ringing trumpet-notes of their original's martial music.

For the most part, however, Capt. Burton's version is vivid, picturesque, and as interesting as his original allows. He duly enforces the sense by reproducing Camoens's emphatic verbal repetitions; he only occasionally offends by an imperfect rhyme; and he gratifies the ear, like his master, Spenser, by abundance of alliteration.

From the *Daily News*, June 23, 1881.

THE indefatigable industry and zeal of Captain Burton are so well known that it will perhaps occasion little surprise that he has found leisure, in the midst of all his travels, voyages, and literary labours, to make a new translation of Camoens, now published in two volumes (Quaritch), under the editorship of his wife, the sharer in so many of his enterprises. A noteworthy feature of this translation is the renderings of the numerous stanzas suppressed by the poet, which have not hitherto been presented to the public. Mr. Burton has with characteristic courage executed his whole task in the octave stanza of the original, which necessarily conveys a better notion of Camoens than the stately heroic couplets of Mickle; and it is hardly necessary to say that Captain Burton does not adopt the free and easy notions of that unscrupulous translator, who did not hesitate to omit long passages, and even in one case to add about 300 lines of his own invention. Captain Burton is, on the contrary, though not always absolutely faithful, at least as faithful as it is perhaps possible to be under the difficult conditions which he imposes on himself. His quaint turns of phrase, uncouth archaisms, and occasional rugged lines, will not be to all tastes; but they have an antique flavour not out of keeping with this, the oldest of all epics in the modern tongues.

From the *Academy*, June 25, 1881.

CAPT. BURTON'S translation is, beyond all comparison, the closest, the most flexible, and the most poetic version that has yet appeared of the great Portuguese epic. . . . . It is to be supposed that no one will attempt it after him, for no translator can again be expected to combine the qualifications of Capt. Burton, who, like Camoens, is himself at once a traveller, a scholar, a *littérateur*, a soldier, and as he now incontestably proves himself to be, a true poet. . . . . The truth is, that, if Camoens was to be translated at all, it was not to be done on the old lines. In most versions into foreign languages, except one into Spanish, the "Lusiads" appear as a bald, an artificial, and a very wearisome performance—a farrago of foreign adventure, of geography, of patriotic and inaccurate history, and of doubtful classicism. The attitude of the intelligent foreign critic has mostly been, "It must be good, for the Portuguese say so, and they ought to know. The truth is that Camoens wrote an impossible *epos*, but, being a great poet and an exquisite stylist, he left the mark of genius on his stanzas. That mark has unfortunately as a rule been effaced by the translators into staid English verse, with all the sins upon them of omission and commission common to the majority of translators. The fire that burns in this Portuguese Odyssey has certainly never warmed the reader of the epic in an English version. To say that in Capt. Burton's version there is all of this same fire and poetic fervour would be to

say of his translation what cannot be said of any translation of any great poet. It cannot be said even of Fairfax, or of Carey, or of Tieck, that they have mirrored more than a faint likeness of Tasso, of Dante, and of Shakespere; and of Capt. Burton all that can be said is that in his lines the English reader will find the most living image yet given of the great Portuguese *epos*. A critic may entertain reasonable doubts whether Capt. Burton's method be absolutely a fair one, but the translator may urge that by no other could his task be accomplished at all; and, after a little charitable consideration, such hard words as "to weet" and "to nill," "val-varte," "fair-faxt," "treachetour," "sprent," "salty," "whilere," "haught," and "sit-hence" will come to seem no stumbling-blocks at all. Capt. Burton's version has been called archaic, but so is the Portuguese of the original; it is the Portuguese of three hundred years ago, and even when it was written it was hardly more the language of its own day than the "Faerie Queen" was the English spoken by Spenser's contemporaries. It was, therefore, I think good judgment in Capt. Burton to turn the "Lusiads" into a somewhat archaic English. . . . . To a Portuguese, Camoens is an *omnis homo*, as Shakespeare to us. His countrymen find in him all poetic, all descriptive, all narrative, all pathetic, all romantic excellence—*nil tetigit quod non ornavit*; and the "Lusiads" furnish many a text of practical philosophy. I select from among scores of wise maxims a home-truth from the camp—a truism, perhaps, but useful, and most excellently expressed—

> "A disciplina militar prestante
> Não se apprehende, Senhor, no phantasia
> Sonhando, imaginando ou estudando
> Senão vendo, tratando e pelejando."

Here again the English is not far behind, if, indeed, it is not quite equal to, the strength and energy of the original:

> "Senhor! the soldiers' discipline is more
> Than men may learn by mother-fancy guided:
> Not musing, dreaming, reading what they write;
> 'Tis seeing, doing, fighting, teach to fight."

Capt. Burton has in the volumes before us sounded, for the first time, an echo not unworthy of the "great organ-voice" of Portugal.

OSWALD CRAWFURD.

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